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Early English Text Society.

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The Romance and Prophecies of

# Thomas of Erceeldoune,

PRINTED FROM FIVE MANUSCRIPTS;

WITH

Illustrations from the Prophetic Literature

OF THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES.

EDITED, WITH

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,

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33. The Knight de la Tour Landry (from French of A.D. 1372), (ab. 1440 A.D.) A Father's Book for his Daughters, ed. from Harl. MS. 1764 and Caxton's version, by Thomas Wright. 8s.
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Thomas of Erceeldonne.

Acknowledgments are also due to the Rev. W. W. Skeat, for many a timely service, to James Tait, Esq., of the *Kelso Chronicle*, and Charles Wilson, Esq., of Rhymer's Lands, Earlstoun, for investigation of local matters; and to the Rev. Dr R. Morris, F. J. Furnivall, Esq., and David Laing, Esq., LL.D., for assistance on special points.

The following works touch in one way or another on Thomas and his prophecies :  
 Lord Hailes (David Dalrymple). *Remarks on the History of Scotland*. Edin., 1773.  
 John Pinkerton. *Ancient Scottish Poems never before in print*. London, 1786.  
 Sir Walter Scott. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. 1st Edition. Kelso, 1802. (Reprinted, London, 1869.)  
 Sir Walter Scott. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. 5th Edition, 3 vols. Edin., 1821.  
 Sir Walter Scott. *Sir Tristrem, a metrical Romance of the 13th century*. 2nd Ed. Edin., 1806.  
 Robert Jamieson, F.A.S. *Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts, and scarce editions*. Edin., 1806.  
 David Laing, LL.D. *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*. Edin., 1822.  
 Thomas Warton, D.D. *The History of English Poetry*. (Edited by R. Price, with the additional Notes of Ritson, Ashby, Douce, and Park.) London, 1840.  
 History of the Berwickshire Naturalist's Club. Part for 1837 contains "The Popular Rhythmes of Berwickshire," by Mr Henderson; Part for 1866 contains "Earlston," by James Tait, Esq.  
 J. O. Halliwell, Esq. *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of "A Midsummer Night's Dream."* The Shakespeare Society. London, 1845.  
 Robert Chambers, LL.D. *The Popular Rhymes of Scotland*. 3rd Edition. Edin., 1858. New Edition, much enlarged; London, 1870.  
 David Irving, LL.D. *History of Scottish Poetry*. Edin., 1861.  
 Professor F. J. Child. *English and Scottish Ballads*. London, 1861.

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After research has done its utmost, the facts as to Thomas are still few and scanty. When we have summed them all up, we can appropriately adapt the words of the minstrel who first told his tale, and like him conclude :

"Of 'man or woman yet' walde I here,  
 That couthe mare telle of swilke ferly!  
 Ihesu, corounde with crowne of brere,  
 Thow brynge us to thy heuene on hye!

Amen."

*Mill Hill School, Nov. 1875.*

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1. THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE, commonly known as the Rhymer, occupies a more important place in the legendary history of Scotland than in the authentic annals, though the few notices of him which occur in the latter are sufficient to prove his personality and to fix the age in which he lived. The name of *Thomas Rymor de Erceildoune* occurs along with Oliver, Abbot of Dryburgh; Willelm de Burudim; Hugh de Peresby, Viscount of Rokysburgh; and Will. de Hattely, as witnessing a deed whereby Petrus de Haga de Bemersyde (on the Tweed) binds himself and his heirs to pay half a stone of wax (*dimidium petram cere*) annually to the Abbot and convent of Melrose, for the chapel of Saint Cuthbert at Old Melros.<sup>1</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> The following copy of Petrus de Haga's Charter is taken from the Cartulary of Melrose MS. Harl. No. 3960, leaf 109 a. It is also printed in the *Liber de Melros* (Bannatyne Club).

Carta Petre de Haga de dimidia petra Cere.

Omnibus hoc scriptum uisuris uel audituris. Petrus de Haga dominus de Bemerside, salutem in domino. Noueritis vniuersi. quod cum olim conuenissem cum viris religiosis Abbate et Conuentu de Melros pro quibusdam transgressionibus eisdem per me & meos illatis. quod eisdem singulis annis ego & heredes mei decem salmones quinque videlicet recentes. & quinque veteres in perpetuum soluerimus; Tandem iidem religiosi pietate ducti perpendorunt

document has no date, but the grantor, Petrus de Haga, is himself witness to another charter, by which Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland (from 1162 to 1189), granted certain serfs to Henry St Clair. It thus defines Thomas's age to the extent of showing that he was a contemporary—a junior one doubtless—of one who was himself at least old enough to witness a document in 1189. In the year 1294 (November 2nd), *Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun*, conveyed by charter, to the Trinity House of Soltra, all the lands which he held by inheritance in the village of Ercildoun.<sup>1</sup>

hoc esse in exheredacionem mei & heredum meorum. mediantibus viris bonis consenciente & concedente Johanne filio & herede meo cum dictis Abbate et Conuentu taliter conueni. scilicet quod ego et heredes [mei] tenemur & presenti scripto in perpetuum obligamur ipsis Abbati & Conuentui soluere singulis annis dimidiam petram Cere bone & pacabilis ad Capellam sancti Cuthberti. de veteri Melros die beati Cuthberti. in quadragesima uel triginta denarios. sub pena triginta denariorum singulis mensibus soluendorum ad luminare dicte Capelle. quibus in solucione dicte Cere aut triginta denariorum predictorum fuerit cessatum post diem & terminum memoratos. Subiciendo me & heredes meos iurisdiccioni & potestati domini Episcopi sancti Andree. qui pro tempore fuerit. ut me & heredes meos per censuram ecclesiasticam qualemcumque possit compellere ad solucionem dicte Cere. aut triginta denariorum predictorum vna cum pena si committatur. Renunciando pro me & heredibus meis in hoc facto omni accioni defencionis & accepcioni. & omni legum auxilio canonici. & civilis. beneficio restitutionis in integrum. & omnibus aliis que michi & heredibus meis prodesse potuerunt in hoc facto & dictis Abbati & Conuentui obesse. quo minus solucio fieri valeat dicte cere. aut triginta denariorum predictorum. vna cum pena si committatur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum. vna cum sigillo domini Oliueri tunc Abbatis de Driburgh est appensum. Testibus domino Oliuero Abbate de Driburgh domino Willelmo de Burudim. milite Hugone de Perisby tunc vicecomite de Rokysburgh Willelmo de Hatteley Thome Rymor de Ercildune & aliis.

<sup>1</sup> The following is a transcript of Thomas de Ercildoun's Charter, from the Cartulary of the Trinity House of Soltra, Advocate's Library, W. 4. 14 :—

Ersylton

Omnibus has literas visuris vel audituris Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thome Rymour de Ercildoun, Salutem in domino. Noueritis me per fustum & baculum in pleno iudicio resignasse ac per presentes quietum clamasse pro me & heredibus meis Magistro domus Sancte trinitatis de Soltre, & fratribus eiusdem domus totam terram meam cum omnibus pertinentis suis quam in tenemento de Ercildoun hereditarie tenui Renunciando de cetero pro me et heredibus meis omni iuri & clameo que ego seu antecessores mei in eadem terra alioque tempore de preterito habuimus siue de futuro habere poterimus. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus literis sigillum meum apposui Data apud Ercildoun die Martis proximo post festum Sanctorum apostolorum Symonis & Iude Anno Domini millesimo et nonagesimo quarto.

Although this document has been printed half-a-dozen times, and its date quoted twenty times at least, the latter has been given by every editor as 1299, and in the *Border Minstrelsy* it is actually printed *nonagesimo nono*, which looks like an attempt to evade the chronological difficulty it offers. Mr Skeat kindly points out that the Sunday letter for 1294 was C, and Easter the 18th April, so that St Simon's and St Jude's, the 28 Oct. (the old day for electing mayors, &c., advanced by New Style to 9th Nov.) fell on Thursday, and the next Tuesday after (die Martis proximo post) was 2nd November.

"The superiority of the property called 'Rhymer's Lands,' now owned by Mr Charles Wilson, Earlstoun, still belongs to the Trinity College Church in Edinburgh. It would almost appear as if Thomas had held his lands not direct from the Crown, but from the Earls of Dunbar; for his name does not appear in any State document of that period. Nor does it appear that

Contemporary documents thus fix Rymour's existence between the end of the twelfth and end of the thirteenth century; and, as will be seen in the sequel, he is further historically identified, on sufficient, though not contemporary, evidence, with the latter part of this period, by his connexion with events in the year 1286, and (though less authentically) 1296. From 1189 to 1296 is, of course, more than a century; but, as has been shown by Sir Walter Scott, these dates involve no difficulty, for supposing De Moreville's charter to have been granted towards the end of his career in 1189, and De Haga to have been then about 20, the grant of the latter was probably not made before the end of his life, say between 1230 and 1240. If Ercehdoune was about 20 when he witnessed this, it would fix his birth somewhere between 1210 and 1220, so that he would be between 66 and 76 in 1286, and may, so far as this is concerned, have outlived the latter date by several years. The *prima facie* purport of the charter of 1294 is that Thomas is already dead, and his son in possession of the paternal property, which he in his turn gives away. Considerations at variance with this inference will be noticed further on.

2. Of his family, or how much was actually implied by his surname, *de Ercehdoun*, we know nothing. The latter was, however, evidently derived from the village of Ercheldun, Ercehdoune, Ersyltoun, in Berwickshire, on the banks of the Leader, a northern tributary of the Tweed, from which, in still earlier times, there had emerged a shepherd boy, destined to become the apostle of his native Northumbria, St Cuthbert. Ercheldun, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, seems to have been a place of considerable importance, and is connected both with the family of Lindesey, and the Earls of March. A *Carta Wilhelmi Linseia, de Ecclesia de Ercheldoun* to the priory of Coldingham, dating to the reign of David I. or Malcolm the Maiden (1124—1163) is preserved in the Durham archives, and a *Carta W. de Lindessi de Fauope iuxta Ledre*, ante 1165, to the monks of Melros, is also in existence, witnessed among others by Arosine de lindeseia, Swano de Ercehdun, and Cospatricio de Ercehdun. The Lindesey family do not appear ever to take the surname de Ercehdoun, which is borne by that of Cospatric, Earl of March (called often, from his chief residence, Earl of Dunbar). The Earls of March are said to have had a castle at the east end of the village, which was probably the scene of the royal visits in the reign of David I., when various documents, including the Foundation Charter

the lands were of large extent, for through old deeds the dimensions of the lands can be observed unaltered for the last three centuries back at least."—*James Tait, Esq., in 'History of Berwickshire Nat. Club,'* vol. v. p. 264. The actual area of *Rhymer's Lands*, as I learn by letter from Mr Wilson, is only  $9\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and no other land in Earlstoun or its neighbourhood owns the superiority of Trinity College Church.



of Melrose Abbey in June 1136, and its confirmation by his son Prince Henry in 1143, were subscribed *apud Ercheldon*.

Whether Thomas de Erceuldoune was related to the family of March, as might perhaps be assumed from the way in which his name appears more than once in connexion with the Earl and Countess of that house, or whether his relations with them were those of a vassal, or of a neighbour merely, cannot be ascertained. Of a tower, traditionally pointed out as his, the ruins still exist at the west end of the village, though the family connexion with it must have ceased in 1294, when, as already stated, the patrimonial estate in Erceuldoune was conveyed to the religious establishment at Soltra. The Earl's Tower at the other end of the village continued to be an important fortress, and, according to popular belief, to it is due the corruption of the old name of Ercheldoun or Ersyltoun, to the modern spelling of *Earlstoun*, which railway and postal authorities contract to *Earlston*.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas is not known to any of the older authorities by any surname save his territorial one of *Erceuldoune*, or that of *Rymour*, derived, it is generally supposed, from his poetic or prophetic avocations; "though even this is uncertain, for Rymour was a Berwickshire name in those days, one John Rymour, a freeholder, having done

<sup>1</sup> My friend, Andrew Currie, Esq., of Darnick, to whom I am indebted for much local information as to the Rhymer, and who is himself, I believe, a native of Earlstoun, considers that Erceuldoun, or Ersyltoun, has not been altered into Earlstoun, but supplanted by it. He thinks that the original village of Erceuldoune is represented by the hamlet of thatched houses at the west, on the road to Lauder, and immediately to the north of Rhymour's Tower, and that the hamlet which rose nearly a mile to the east round the Earl's Tower, was distinguished as the Earl's Town; and this having in process of time become the main village, and absorbed the more ancient Erceuldoune, gave its name to the whole. But Erceuldoune was originally the general name, as the Earl was *Cospatrio de Erceuldun*, so that the "Earl's Town," if it existed, would be the "Earls-town at or in Erceuldoun." *Rhymer's Lands*, beside the ruins of Thomas's Tower, also contained an ancient water-mill, of which Mr Currie says: "Rhymer's Mill was renewed by me in 1843. The old one had a stone in the gable with the words in antique letters, *Rhymer's Mill*; I think this stone was replaced in the new mill above the water-wheel. The site of the Earl's Tower, a much more extensive structure than Rhymour's Tower, is now occupied by the Gasworks. I remember seeing hewn pavement, &c., turned up on the spot some forty years ago, besides large chiselled blocks, which had been part of the original walls and foundations. A little to the west of this, and by the burn-side, is a knowe or moraine, which still bears the name of *the Hawk's Kaim*, and is traditionally remembered as the site of the Falconry of the Earls of Dunbar. A long level strip of ground between it and the burn is still called *The Butte*, and said to have been the archery practice ground. Of Rhymer's Tower, the decay has proceeded rapidly within my memory; about 1830, the fireplace was still entire, with massive red stone lintel and corbels from the free stone of the Black Hill behind Cowdenknowes. A curious discovery was made, when clearing out the brushwood of this old quarry, of a corbel nearly finished, identical in pattern and size with those remaining in Rhymer's Tower. This is now preserved at Cowdenknowes. There is no male inhabitant of Earlstoun now claiming descent from the Rhymer, since the death of the last of the Learmonts, an old bachelor, Robert by name, and a weaver by trade, from whom I learned many traditions of Erceuldoun, some 35 years ago." (See some additional particulars at end of the *Notes*.)

homage to Edward I. in 1296." The inscription on the front wall of the church at Earlstoun, which marks the traditional place of his sepulture,

"Auld Rymer's race  
Lies in this place,"

seems to point to Rymour as the name of the family.<sup>1</sup> But Hector Boece or Boyce (1527) gives him the surname of Leirmont;<sup>2</sup> and Nisbet, the Herald, in a work written 1702, styles him Sir Thomas Learmont of Earlstoun in the Merse, in which he is followed by later writers; and, according to Sir Walter Scott in 1804, "an unvarying tradition corresponds to their assertion." A tradition of the eighteenth century, however, corresponding to a statement which has passed current in books since the sixteenth, has no independent value; and as Nisbet quotes as evidence for Thomas's surname "charters of an earlier date" which no one has ever seen, we may dismiss the subject with a mere mention of the hypotheses suggested by David Macpherson and others to account for Boyce's and Nisbet's nomenclature, such as "that Thomas, or his predecessor, had married an heiress of the name of Learmont, and occasioned this error," or that "some family of that name may have traced their descent from him by the female side." For us, it will be sufficient to know him as he was known to Barbour, Fordun, and Robert of Brunne, as Thomas of Erceldoune, otherwise Thomas Rymour.

3. The incident by which he is associated with the year 1286 is his so-called prediction of the calamitous death of Alexander III.; the earliest notice of which is found in the *Scotichronicon* of John of Fordun, or rather his continuator Walter Bower (born 1385, wrote about 1430). According to this account, on the night before the king was killed, by being thrown over the precipice at Kinghorn; "Thomas of Erseldon, visiting the castle of Dunbar, was interrogated by the Earl of March, in the jocular manner which he was wont to assume with the Rymour,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Tait, in the *Berwickshire Nat. Transact.* already quoted, says, "Tradition says the stone was transferred from the old church, which stood some yards distant from the present edifice. In 1782 the ancient inscription was defaced by some senseless fellow in a drunken frolic, but the clergyman compelled him to replace it in the same words as before. The defaced characters were very ancient, the present are quite modern, and the spelling also is modernised. The right of sepulture is still claimed there by persons named *Learmont*, an indication that if Thomas did not bear that surname, it was adopted by his descendants," [or some who claimed to represent him]. "The church itself," says Mr Currie, "may not be more than 150 years old. It stands on the site of an older one which was a vicarage of Coldinghame. In the east gable is built a red stone bearing a dagger-shaped cross, the well-known symbol of the Knights Templars. (See additional particulars at end of the *Notes*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Boece* lib. xiii. f. 291 a (Parisii, 1575). Tradunt scriptores pridie quàm Alexander fatè functus esset, comitem mercharum percunctatum sub noctem insignem quendam vatem ac prædicendi arte haud saepe fallentem, Thomas Leirmont nomine, vtrum aliquid in posterum diem noui euenturum esset.

what another day was to bring forth. Thomas, fetching a heavy sigh from the bottom of his heart, is said to have expressed himself to this effect: 'Alas for to-morrow, a day of calamity and misery! Before the twelfth hour, shall be heard a blast so vehement that it shall exceed all those that have yet been heard in Scotland: a blast which shall strike the nations with amazement, shall confound those who hear it, shall humble what is lofty, and what is unbending shall level to the ground.' In consequence of this alarming prediction, the Earl and his attendants were induced to observe the state of the atmosphere next day; but having watched till the ninth hour without discovering any unusual appearance, they began to deride Thomas as a driveller. The Earl, however, had scarcely sat down to dinner, and the hand of the dial pointed the hour of noon, when a messenger arrived at the gate and importunately demanded admission; they now found that the prediction was fatally verified; for this messenger came to announce the intelligence of the king's death."<sup>1</sup> Bower's story is repeated by Mair (Joannes Major Scotus), and Hector Boece (Boethius) (see note 2, p. xiii), the former adding, "To this Thomas our countrymen have ascribed many predictions, and the common people of Britain yield no slight degree of credit to stories of this nature; which I for the most part am wont to treat with ridicule." Bellenden also, in his vernacular version of Boece, tells the story in more moderate language than Fordun:

"It is said ye day afore ye kingis deith, the Erle of Merche demandit ane propheyt namit Thomas Rimour, otherwayis namit Ersiltoun, quhat weddir suld be

<sup>1</sup> "Annon recordaris quod ille vates ruralis, Thomas videlicet de Erseldon, nocte præcedenti mortem regis Alexandri, in castro de Dunbar, obscure prophetando, de occasu ejus dixerat comiti Marchiarum interroganti ab eo, ut solitus quasi jocando, quid altera dies futura novi esset paritura? Qui Thomas attrahens de imo cordis singultuosum suspirium, sic fertur comiti coram aulicis palam protulisse: 'Heu diei crastinæ! diei calamitatis et miseriæ! quæ ante horam explicite duodecimam audietur tam vehemens ventus in Scotia, quod a magnis retroactis temporibus consimilis minime inveniebatur. Cujus quidem flatus obstupescere faciet gentes, stupidos reddet audientes, excelsa humiliabit, et rigida solo complanabit.' Propter cujus seria affamina comes cum aulicis crastinum observantes, et horas diei usque ad nonam considerantes, et nullum vestigium in nubibus vel signis ventosis cœli auspicantes, Thomam tanquam insensatam reputantes, ad prandium properarunt. Ubi dum comiti vix mense collocato, et signo horologii ad meridianam horam fere approximato, affuit quidam ad portam, importunis pulsibus aures comitis concutiens, aditum sibi ocius fieri flagitavit. Intromissus igitur advena, et de novis impetitus, 'Nova,' inquit, 'habeo, sed nosciva, toto regno Scotiæ defenda, quia inclitus, heu! rex ejus finem præsentis vitæ hesternæ nocte apud Kingorn sortitus est, et hæc veni nunciare tibi.' Ad hanc narrationem, quasi de gravi somno excitatus, comes una cum familiaribus tutuderunt pectora, et dicti Thomæ experti sunt credibilia nimis facta fore vaticinia." Bower, *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 43. "The local tradition," according to Mr Currie, "has it that the prophecy was delivered in the Earl of Dunbar's castle at Erceldoune, the royal herald announcing his arrival by a bugle blast from the Corse-Hill Head, on the Huntshaw road, to the north of the village. The spot is still called, if my memory serves me right, The Trumpet or Bugle Knowe."

on ye morrow. To quhome answerit this Thomas, that on the morrow afore noun, sall blaw the greatest wynd that euir was herd afore in Scotland. On ye morrow, quhen it wes neir noun, ye lift appering loune but ony din or tempest, ye Erle sent for this propheit and repreuit hym that he pronosticat sic wynd to be and na apperance yairof. Yis Thomas maid litel answer, bot said, noun is not 3it gane. And incontinent ane man come to the 3et schawing y<sup>t</sup> the king was slain. Yan said ye propheit, Zone is the wynd yat sall blaw to ye gret calamite and trouble of all Scotland. Yis Thomas was ane man of gret admiration to the people, and schew sindry thingis as they fell. Howbeit yai wer ay hyd vnder obscure wourdis."

Divested of the grandiloquence of its monkish chroniclers, "the story," says Sir Walter Scott, "would run simply that Thomas presaged to the Earl of March that the next day would be windy—the weather proved calm, but news arrived of the death of Alexander III., which gave an allegorical turn to the prediction, and saved the credit of the prophet. It is worthy of notice that the rhymes vulgarly ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune are founded apparently on meteorological observation. And doubtless before the invention of barometers, a weather-wise prophet might be an important personage."

Whatever the foundation of the story, and however explained, it may be taken, at least in conjunction with the documentary evidence already given, as showing that Thomas was alive in 1286. According to Harry the Minstrel he survived also to 1296, when he was identified with a critical passage in the life of Wallace.

Towards the beginning of that hero's career, as reported by his minstrel biographer, he was seized in the town of Ayr, by the soldiers of the English garrison under Lord Percy, whose steward, amongst several others, Wallace had slain in a market brawl. While lying in prison awaiting his trial, the rigour of his treatment and filthiness of his dungeon brought on dysentery, under which he sank, and was found by the jailor apparently dead. His body was cast over the walls upon a "draff myddyn," whence it was begged by an old nurse, who desired to do the last rites to the corpse. While washing the body, however, she noticed faint signs of animation, and by dint of careful nursing, secretly restored him to life and health, while observing all the outward show of mourning for his death.

thomas Rimour in to *the faile*<sup>1</sup> was *than*,  
With *the mynystir*, quhilk was a worthi man :  
He wysyt off to *that* religiouse place.

The peple demyt of witt mekill he can ;  
And so he told, *thocht* at *thai* bliss or ban,  
Quhilk hapnyt suth in many diuerss cace,

<sup>1</sup> The *Faile* or *Feale*, a priory of the Cluniacenses in the neighbourhood of Ayr, which was still flourishing in the sixteenth century.

I can nocht say, be wrang or *rychtwisnas*,  
In rewile of wer, quhat *thai* tynt or wan;  
It may be demyt be diuisioun of grace.

*Thar* man *that* day had in the *merket* bene,  
On Wallace knew *this* cairfull cass so kene.  
His master speryt, quhat tithingis at he saw.  
*This* man ansuerd; "of litill hard I meyn."  
*The* mynister said; 'It has bene seildyn seyn,  
quhar scottis and Ingliiss semblit bene on Raw,  
Was neuir zit, als fer as we coud knaw,  
Bot *other* a scot wald do a sothroun teyn,  
Or he till him, for awentur mycht faw.'

"Wallace," he said, "je wist tayne in *that*  
steid;

Out our the wall I saw *thaim* cast him deide,  
In *presoun* famys[i]t for fawt of fude."  
*The* mynister said with hart hewy as leid,  
'Sic deid to *thaim*, me think, suld foster  
feid;

For he was wicht and cummyn of gentill blud,'  
Thomas ansuerd "*thir* tythingis ar noucht  
gud;

And *that* be suth, my self sall neuir eit breid,  
For all my witt her schortlye I conclud.  
'a woman syne of *the* Newtoun of Ayr,  
Till him scho went fra he was fallyn *ther*;  
And on her kneis rycht lawly *thaim* besocht,  
To purchess leiff scho mycht *thin* with him  
fayr.

In lychtlyness tyll hyr *thai* grant to fayr.  
Our *the* watty on till hir hous him brocht,  
To berys him als gudlye as scho mocht.'  
Jhit thomas said "*Than* sall I leiff na mar,  
Gyff that be trew, be-god, *that* all has wrocht."  
the mynister herd quhat thomas said in playne.

He chargyt him *than* "go speid *the* fast  
agayne

To *that* sammyn hous and werraly aspye."  
*The* man went furth, at byddyng was full  
bayne;

To *the* new town to pass he did his payn,  
To *that* ilk hous; and went in sodanlye,  
About he blent on to *the* burd him bye.  
*This* woman rais, in hart scho was [nocht]  
fayn.

quha aw *this* lik, he bad hir nocht deny.

"wallace," scho said, "*that* full worthy has  
beyne,"

Thus wepyt scho, that pete was to seyne.  
The man *thar* to gret credens gaif he nocht:  
Toward *the* burd he bowned as he war teyne.  
On kneis scho felle, and cryit: 'For marye  
scheyne,

Lat sklandyr be, and flemyt out of *your*  
thocht.'

*This* man hir suour "be him *that* all has  
wrocht,

Mycht I on lyff him anys se with myn eyen,  
He suld be saiff, *thocht* Ingland had him  
socht."

scho had him wp to Wallace be *the* dess;  
He spak with him; syne fast agayne can press  
With glaid bodword, *thar* myrthis till amend.  
He told to *thaim* *the* first tithingis was less.  
*Than* thomas said: "forsuth, or he decess,  
Mony thousand in feild sall mak *thar* end.  
Off *this* regioun he sall *the* sothroun send;  
And scotland thriss he sall bryng to *the* pess:  
So gud off hand agayne sall neuir be kend."

This incident, if authentic, could not have taken place before 1296 or 1297; and it is at once evident that it conflicts with the idea that Thomas was already dead in 1294, when *Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun* devised the paternal estates. It is easy, of course, to say that, the charter being undoubted, Harry's story must be set aside as a mere fable. But I am not disposed to treat the Minstrel's circumstantial narrative quite so lightly; and I would suggest that it is not impossible that Thomas, wearied and dispirited with the calamities under which his country was sinking, may before his death have transferred his estates, and retired to end his days in the priory of the Faile. If Harry is to be trusted in saying that Thomas "usyt off to that religiouse place," we may even have a key to those temporary disappearances from his home, which popular superstition accounted for by visits to Fairyland; and a final retirement while still alive may

really be the fact concealed under the legend of his sudden disappearance from the world. Then, are we correct in assuming that the charter in question is granted by Thomas's son, and not by Thomas himself? If Rymour was the family surname, the latter is not impossible. It is at least a pleasing fancy to picture Thomas, the last mayhap of his line, after setting his house in order and disposing of his worldly goods, retiring from earthly cares and pursuits, and leaving his neighbours to marvel at his departure, and attribute it to the powers of another world, who could spare him to "middle-erd" no longer. Many a myth has gone farther astray from its simple basis. Patrick Gordon, in his rhymed History of Robert Bruce (Dort, 1615), says Rymour survived to 1307; but as he gives us no authority for the statement, his evidence is of very doubtful value.

4. Such are the only notices which refer, or purport to refer, to Thomas in his lifetime. They seem to point to him as a man of sagacity and foresight, who, veiling his observations "under obscure wourdis," had already before his death attained to the repute of something like prophetic power. As a patriot, and one who had lived during the palmy days of the old Scottish monarchy before

Alysandyr owre kyng wes dede  
That Scotlande led in luv and le,

he must have keenly felt the sorrows which overtook his country in his last years, and if he understood the temper of his countrymen, he may well have expressed his hope and confidence of their final triumph in tones which fell from the lips of the "old man eloquent" with all the weight of inspiration. That his reputed sayings were so quoted early in the course of the struggle, and within a few years after his own death, is abundantly evident from various references. One of these occurs in Barbour's Bruce, where, after Bruce had slain the Red Cumyn in the Grey Friars church at Dumfries in 1306, news of the event reached amongst others the patriotic Bishop of St Andrews:

*The lettir tauld hym all the deid,  
And he till his men gert it reid,  
And sythyn said thaim, "sekyrly  
I hop Thomas prophecy*

*off hersildoune sall weryfyd be  
In him; for, swa our lord help me!  
I haiff gret hop he sall be king,  
And haif this land all in leding."*

Andro of Wyntown also in his "Orygynale" (Book VIII, chap. 32), referring to the battle of Kilblane, fought by Sir Andrew Moray against the Baliol faction in 1334, says:—

*Of this fycht qwhylum spak Thomas  
of Ersyldoune, that sayd in derne,  
There suld mete stalwarthe,<sup>1</sup> stark, and sterne. [MS. stalwartly]  
He sayd it in his prophecy;  
But how he wist it was ferly.*

ERCILDOUN.

At a still earlier period the prophetic renown of Thomas is alluded to by the author of the *Scalacronica*, a French chronicle of English History, compiled by Sir Thomas Grey, constable of Norham, during his captivity in Edinburgh Castle in 1355. One of the *Notabilia*, extracted by Leyland from the unpublished part of this chronicle, is headed: "William Banestre and Thomas Erceldoune, whose words were spoken in figure, as were the prophecies of Merlin."<sup>1</sup>

Most of these writers, however, lived a century after Thomas, and it might of course be, that their references to the notoriety of his prophetic powers represented rather the current opinion of their own age than of that of which they wrote; that Barbour, for example, in making Bishop Lamberton quote "Thomas' prophecy," described what he was very likely to do himself, though he might have no ground either in tradition or history for imputing it to the Bishop of St Andrews. But this is sufficiently met by the fact that a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century not only credits Thomas with oracular powers, but preserves what purports to be one of his prophecies, in the following form (*MS. Harl. 2253, lf 127, col. 2*):

La countesse de Donbar demanda a Thomas de Essedoune quant la guere descoce prendreit fyn. e yl la repoundy e dyt,

When man as mad akyng of a capped man ;  
 When mon is leuere oþermones þyng þen is owen ;  
 When londyonys forest, ant forest ys felde ;<sup>2</sup>  
 When hares kendles oþe herston ;  
 When Wyt & Wille werres togedere ;  
 When mon makes stables of kyrkes, and steles castles wyþ styes ;  
 When rokesbourh nys no burgh<sup>3</sup> ant market. is at Forwyleye ;

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. W. W. Skeat has been so kind as to find the original of Leyland's extract in the manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge (No. 133, leaf 60, back). He says: "It is a long paragraph, in which the name of 'Merlyns' occurs repeatedly; some remarks at the end imply that he spoke so much 'en figure' as to render the interpretation of his meaning very doubtful. It is remarked that much is said about boars, dragons, bears, eagles, lions, asses, moles, trees, and brooks; and that the object seems to have been to make the prophecies obscure—'ne purra estre determyne en certayne, si fussent, en le hour de le-scriuer de cest cronicle, passe ou auenir. pusque tautes des Roys sont passez. tancom durent les Regnes des .vij. reaulmes Saxouns. en queux la grant bretaine estoit deuise. et des autres puscedy Engles & Normandes. pur quoy ne agreast a le deuiseur de cest cronicle plus dez parolis de Merlyne de soy entremettre. ne dez autres queux hom disoit en le houre predestinours. com de Willam Banastre. ou de Thomas de Erceldoun. les parolis de queux furount ditz en figure. od diuers entendementz aptez a lestimaciours de les comentours. que en cas purroit desacorder.'"

<sup>2</sup> The letters þ and y are in the MS. only distinguished by the y having a dot, which is often omitted; n and u also are indistinguishable; *londyonys* or *loundyonys* may be *London is* or *Loudyon*, i. e. "*Lothian is forest, and forest is field.*" *Fbrrest* may refer to the old name of Selkirkshire, or *Etterick Forest*.

<sup>3</sup> Roxburgh, the ancient county town of Roxburghshire, and one of the "four great burghs" of Scotland, the remains of whose castle still crown the promontory between the Tweed and Teviot at their confluence, has been "no burgh" since 1547, and not a stone of the once great town now remains *in situ*.

When þe alde is gan ant þe newe is come þ' don (or dou) noþt  
 When bambourne is donged Wyþ dedemen;  
 When men ledes men in ropes to buyen & to sellen;  
 When a quarter of whaty whete is chaunged for a colt of ten markes;  
 When prude prikes & pees is leyd in prisoun;  
 When a scot ne may hym hude ase hare in forme þ' þe englysshe ne sal hym fynde;  
 When ryht ant Wrong ascentþ to gedere;  
 When laddes weddeþ louedis;  
 When scottes fien so faste, þ' for faute of ship, hy drowneþ hem selue  
 Whenne shal þis be? Nouþer in þine tyme ne in myne;  
 ah comen & gon wiþ inne twenty wynter ant on.

This is in a southern (or south-midland) dialect, and doubtless by an English author. The effect of it seems to be that many improbabilities will happen, and in especial that many calamities will happen to Scotland, before the war with that country shall end, which shall not be in the time of either Thomas or his interrogator, but within twenty-one years after. (See further at end of the *Notes*.)

Mr Pinkerton, who first printed the lines in the "List of the Scottish Poets," prefixed to his "Ancient Scottish poems never before in print" (London, 1786, Vol. I, p. lxxvii), and Sir Walter Scott, who quoted it from Pinkerton (very inaccurately, and with loss of one line), in the "Border Minstrelsy," assume that the *Countesse de Donbar* is the heroic Black Agnes, daughter of Randolph, so celebrated for her defence of Dunbar Castle in 1337, and also referred to in the following poem. But as Mr Bond says the MS. is undoubtedly before 1320, this is not possible; and by the Countess is no doubt meant the wife of the Earl to whom Thomas predicted the death of Alexander III, and with whom, as already said, he seems to have been a familiar visitor. *Bambourne* is evidently Bannockburn, and the reference to its being "donged with dede men," leads one to infer that the prediction was composed *after*, or at least on the eve of that battle, in 1314. But there was no time between that battle and 1320, or even Bruce's death in 1329, when a prophecy that "the Scots should hide as hare in form," would suit events or even distant probabilities; and I am inclined therefore to suppose that it was actually composed on the eve of the Battle of Bannockburn, and circulated under Thomas's name, in order to discourage the Scots and encourage the English in the battle. It is well known that Edward II felt so sure of gaining that battle, and finishing the war at a blow, that he held a council in the camp on the previous day, and drew up statutes and ordinances for the disposal of Scotland and its inhabitants, which were found in the English camp after his defeat. Counting back from 1314, "twenty wynter ant on" would bring us to 1293, when Thomas was, as we have seen, still alive.

That prophecy formed an important weapon on both sides during the wars



between England and Scotland appears from many sources, and a passage in Higden's Polychronicon (as translated by Trevisa) referring to this very period says :

"The Scottes waxed stronger & stronger thyrty yeres togyder, vnto Kyng Edwardes tyme the thyrde after the Conquest, and bete down Englyshemen ofte, and Englyshe places, that were nygh to theyr marches. Some seyde that that mys-happe fell for softnesse of Englyshemen ; and some seyde, that it was goddes own wreche, *as the prophecye said*, that Englyshemen sholde be destroyed by Danes, by Frenshemen, and by Scottes."

The prophetic powers of Thomas of Erceldoune seem thus to have been sufficiently credited to give importance to predictions purporting to be his within the twenty years that followed his own life-time ; and it is noteworthy that all these early references agree in attributing to his utterances the "derne," "obscure," and "figurative" character so well exemplified in those still preserved as his ; also, that the writers who quote them agree in their doubts as to the quarter whence Thomas derived his inspiration, while making no doubt of the inspiration itself.

5. We have equally early authority for his poetical abilities. Robert Mannyng of Brunne, who was actually a contemporary of Thomas, since his "Handlyng of Synne" was written in 1303, appears in his English Chronicle, written about 1330, to celebrate him as "the author of an incomparable romance of the story of Sir Tristrem." After stating his intention of telling his Story of England in the simplest speech, and without using intricate rhymes, since he has observed that such artificial compositions, though they may exhibit their authors' talent, are most spoiled by readers, Mannyng adds as an illustration of this :

I see in song in sedgeyng tale  
of Erceldoun & of Kendale,  
Non þam says as þai þam wrought,  
& in þer sayng it semes noght ;  
þat may þou here in sir Tristrem ;  
ouer gestes it has þe steem,  
Ouer alle þat is or was,  
if mene it sayd as made Thomas ;  
But I here it no mane so say,  
þat of som copple som is away ;  
So þare fayre sayng here beforne  
is þare trauayle nere forlorne ;

þai sayd it for pride & nobleye,  
þat non were suylk as þei ;  
And alle þat þai wild ouerwhere,  
Alle þat ilk wille now forfare.  
þai sayd in so quante Inglia,  
þat many one wate not what it is.  
þerfore [I] henyed wele þe more  
In strange ryme to trauayle sore ;  
And my witte was oure thynne  
So strange speche to trauayle in ;  
And forsoth I couth[e] noght  
so strange Inglis as þai wrought.

It is not certain whether the "Thomas" here is Thomas of Erceldoun or Thomas of Kendale ; nor indeed that the first four lines refer to the same subject as those that follow : Sir Tristrem may, for anything that appears, be a third example, in addition to the works of Erceldoun and Kendale, of the liability of "quante

"Inglis" to be marred by reciters, and its author "Thomas" may not be the Erceldoun of the second line, especially as the earlier German versions of Sir Tristrem quote as their authority one Thomas von Brittanien, or Thomas of Brittany, who must have lived, whoever he was, long before Thomas of Erceldoun. On the other hand, the Romance of Sir Tristrem in the Auchinleck MS., supposed to have been transcribed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and which, though it has been altered by a Southern transcriber, is demonstrably a copy of an earlier Northern one, begins by claiming Thomas of Erceldoune as the authority for its information, in terms which have induced Sir Walter Scott and others to consider the romance as his own production :

I was at Erpeldoun<sup>1</sup>  
 Wiþ tomas spak y þare  
 þer herd y rede in roun  
 Who tristrem gat & bare  
 Who was king wiþ croun  
 & who him fosterd ȝare

& who was bold baroun  
 As þair elders ware  
 bi ȝere  
 tomas telles in toun  
 þis auentours as þai ware.

In stanzas 37-38 Thomas is mentioned, at the point where Tristrem found himself left on an unknown shore by the mariners who had carried him off from home :

þo tomas asked ay  
 Of tristrem trewe fere,  
 To wite þe riȝt way,  
 þe styes for to lere ;  
 of a prince proude in play  
 Listneþ lordinges dere ;  
 Who so better can say,  
 His owen he may here,  
 As hende  
 of thing þat is him dere  
 Ich man preise at ende.

In o robe tristrem was boun,  
 þat he fram schippe hadde brouȝt ;  
 Was of a blihand broun,  
 þe richest þat was wrouȝt ;  
 As tomas telleþ in toun ;  
 He no wist what he mouȝt,  
 Bot semly set him down,  
 & ete ay til him gode þouȝt,  
 Ful sone  
 þe forest forþ he souȝt  
 When he so hadde done.

In Fytt III, stanza 45, the authority of "Tomas" is quoted again :

Beliagog þe bold  
 As a fende he fauȝt ;  
 Tristrem liif neȝe he sold,  
 As tomas haþ ous tauȝt  
 Tristrem smot, as god wold,  
 His fot of at a drauȝt ;

Adoun he fel y fold,  
 þat man of michel mauȝt,  
 & cride  
 "Tristrem, be we sauȝt,  
 & haue min londes wide."

Notwithstanding that in all these passages, the author professes to have learned his tale from "Thomas," Sir Walter Scott, in editing Sir Tristrem, assumed it as

<sup>1</sup> This word is cut through in the MS. by some former possessor who cut out the illuminations ; but the catchword at foot of preceding leaf (280) has "y was at erpeldoun" (not erseldoun), and the lower part of the word including the þ is quite clear in the folio itself. *Erpeldoun* for *Ertheldoun* may be the scribe's error for *Erceldoun* in his original.

undoubtedly the genuine work of Erceldoune, committed to writing by some one who had learned it from him personally; and started a theory that Thomas had himself collected the materials from the Britons of Strathclyde, and that his work, being thus original in its character, was the source of the numerous versions in continental languages which quote one "Thomas" as their authority. Dr Irving, in his *History of Scottish Poetry*, also considered it as "not altogether absurd to suppose that he was nevertheless the real author, and had recourse to this method" [*i. e.* quoting his own name as his authority] "of recording his own claims," and so preventing reciters from claiming the romance as their own composition. But in the additions to Warton's *History of English Poetry* (editions of 1824 and 1840) it is shown that not only did the romance exist in several European languages long before the days of Erceldoune, but that the "Thomas" quoted in some of the French and German poems was the writer of one of the French versions of the story, who must have lived before 1200; that this French version was apparently the original of the English translation in the Auchinleck MS., and that while it is doubtful whether the latter be the work referred to by Robert of Brunne, it is still more doubtful whether it is the production, either directly or indirectly, of Erceldoune. Mr Garnett, in summing up his review of the subject, considers it proved, "1. That the present *Sir Tristrem* is a modernized [rather a *southernized*, it cannot well be a *much* more modern] copy of an old[er] Northumbrian romance, written probably between 1260 and 1300. 2. That it is not, in the proper sense of the word, an original composition, but derived more or less directly from a Norman or Anglo-Norman source. 3. That there is no direct evidence in favour of Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorship of it, while the internal evidence is, as far as it goes, greatly adverse to that supposition. It is however by no means improbable that the author availed himself of the previous labours of Erceldoune on the same theme. The minstrels of those days were great plagiarists, and seldom gave themselves the trouble of inventing subjects and incidents when they found them ready prepared to their hands." Later criticism is still more adverse to the claims of Erceldoune. Mr Wright thinks it most probable that the person who translated the Auchinleck version from the French original, finding a "Thomas" mentioned therein, and not knowing who he was, "may have taken him for the Thomas whose name was then most famous, viz. Thomas of Erceldoune, and thus put the name of the latter to his English edition." I must confess that, looking at the way in which the name and authority of Erceldoune were afterwards affixed to productions with which he had no connexion, Mr Wright's theory seems to me most probable, espe-

cially as this English version must have been originally by a northern writer who would be well acquainted with Thomas's name, and probably wrote soon after his death, so that the southernized transcript in the Auchinleck MS. could be made before the middle of the 14th century. But the Early English Text Society has *Sir Tristrem* in its list for early reprinting, when the question of the origin and authorship of the romance will of course be fully discussed. At present we have only to note that, however the opinion was founded, Thomas of Erceldoune at least passed in popular estimation as a poet of renown within thirty years after his own death.

6. In the twofold character of poet and prophet, thus attributed to him from the earliest period, the name of Thomas of Erceldoune continued to be venerated for many centuries, and numerous compositions claiming to be his, or at least to derive their authority from or through him, are still preserved. The earliest of these is the poem printed in the following pages, the completion of which, from internal evidence, must be placed shortly after 1400, or about a hundred years after Thomas's death. It represents Thomas as meeting "a lady gaye," who is described as the Queen of a realm not in heaven, paradise, hell, purgatory, or on middel-erthe, but "another cuntre" from all these, answering to the Faërie or Fairy-land of later tales, but nowhere so called in the poem itself. Thomas makes love to her, and is transported by her power to her own country, where he dwells for three years and more. On his dismissal, necessary to prevent his seizure by a foul fiend of hell, who is coming next day for his tribute, he asks a token from the lady, and, in compliance with his repeated request to abide and tell him some ferly, she proceeds to give an outline in prophetic form of the wars between England and Scotland from the time of Bruce to that of the death of Robert III, with a mysterious continuation, which must still rank as "unfulfilled prophecy," and ending with a reference to Black Agnes of Dunbar, whose death is predicted. After an affectionate farewell, in which she promises to meet Thomas again at the same spot, the lady leaves him and takes her way to Helmsdale.

7. In regard to the professed authorship of this poem, we meet with even greater difficulty than in *Sir Tristrem*, the narrator passing from the first to the third person, and from the third to the first again, with the most sudden transition, so that it is difficult to say whether it even claims to be the work of Thomas. Thus in the first 72 lines (including the prologue), the writer describes himself as lying on Huntly banks himself alone, and seeing the lady, whose array he describes as a professed eye-witness ; but in line 73 it is :

*Thomas laye & sawe that syghte  
Vndir-nethe a semly tree :  
He sayd, &c. &c.*

*Gyff it be als the storye sayes  
He hir mette at Eldone Tree,*

and so on for 200 lines, the author describing Thomas and his actions as if he himself had them only by hearsay, till in l. 273 we have again the sudden transition to the first person :

*Thomas duellide in that solace  
More than j 3owe saye parde ;  
Till one a day, so hafe I grace,  
My luffly lady sayde to mee ;  
Do buske the, Thomas, the buse agayne, &c. &c. ;*

but this is only a momentary interruption, for the narrator immediately speaks of Thomas again in the third person, a style which he continues to the end of the narrative. In the prophecies from l. 317 to 672 the speeches of Thomas and the lady are merely quoted without even as much as an introductory "he said" or "she said," so that nothing can be determined as to the professed narrator. The conclusion, however, ll. 673—700, is very decidedly narrative in the third person :

*Scho blew his horn on his palfraye,  
Lefte Thomas vnder-nethe a tre ;  
To Helmesdale scho toke the waye,  
And thus departede scho and hee !*

*Of swilke an hird mane wold j here  
That couth Me telle of swilke ferly.  
Ihesu, coronued with a crowne of bre,  
Brynge vs to his heuene So hyee !*

where, even if with the Cambridge MS. we read *woman* for *hird mane*, it is clearly the wish of a third party that he had such an experience as Thomas had, and not of Thomas himself.

8. But, whoever the professed author, I have said that the poem in its present form bears evidence of being later than 1401, the date of the invasion of Scotland by Henry IV, or at least 1388, the date of the Battle of Otterbourne, the last of the historical events "hyd vnder obscure wourdis" in Fytt II. For the whole of the events described in that Fytt are really historical and easily identified, preserving, with a single important exception, the chronological order ; and this part of the poem must have therefore been composed after the last of them had happened. But of the events predicted in Fytt III, after the second, which seems to refer to Henry IV's invasion of the country in 1401, I cannot make any such sense, and I prefer to consider these as real predictions or expectations of the future. Moreover, the oldest MS. of the poem, the Thornton, itself clearly not an original, dates to 1430—1440, some time before which the poem must have existed in its present form, so that we have the period between 1402 and 1440, with strong reasons in favour of the earlier date, for its completion. But portions of it may have been

earlier even than this, for it is clearly possible that the prophecies may have been altered, added to, and interpolated, from time to time, since each incident of them is separate, and easily detachable from the context. There seems indeed to be evidence of very early treatment of this kind in Fytt II, in examining which it will be seen that the events therein "predicted" are

The failure of Baliol's party in the struggle with David Bruce	1333
the battle of Halidon Hill . . . . .	1333
<hr/>	
The battle of Falkirk . . . . .	1298
the battle of Bannockburn . . . . .	1314
the death of Robert Bruce . . . . .	1329
the invasion and partial success of Edward Baliol, who lands at Kinghorn . . . . .	1332
the battle of Dupplin and occupation of Perth . . . . .	1332
the English withdraw to the French war . . . . .	1337
David Bruce fetched from France . . . . .	1342
he invades England, is captured at Durham, and led to London	1346
Scotland again invaded by Baliol . . . . .	1347
Scotland heavily taxed for the ransom of King David . . . . .	1357
Robert Stewart made king . . . . .	1370
Douglas invades England, and slain at Otterbourne . . . . .	1388

Excluding the two first entries, we have here an outline of the chief events in Scotland from the Battle of Falkirk under Wallace to that of Otterbourne under Robert II, references being specially numerous to the period of the Second War of Independence under David Bruce. But the prediction of the eventual ruin of Baliol's party, and the battle of Halidon Hill—a battle "that shall be done right soon at will," come out of order and quite apart from this chronological list, as if they had no connexion with it, while they are also intimately connected with the introduction of this Fytt, and Thomas's request to the lady—

Telle me of this gentill blode  
Wha sall thrife, and wha sall thee,  
Wha sall be kyng, wha sall be none,  
And wha sall welde this northe countre?—

a question as to the conflicting claim of the Bruce and Baliol families scarcely likely to be made after 1400, when the latter line was extinct. I am inclined to suppose, then, that this part, with perhaps Fytt I, the conclusion, and an indefinite portion of Fytt III, which is in all probability a *melange* of early traditional prophecies,

may have been written on the eve of Halidon Hill, with a view to encourage the Scots in that battle; in which the oldest text, it will be observed, makes the Scots win with the slaughter of six thousand Englishmen, while the other texts, wise after the fact, make the Scots lose, as they actually did.

The question has been asked before, whether the "fairy tale" contained in Fytt I is not distinct from the "prophetical rhapsody" to which it serves as an introduction, and collectors of ballads have generally answered the query in the affirmative; thus Jamieson, in editing the poem in his "Popular Ballads and Songs," is of opinion that "In the introduction to the prophecies, there is so much more fancy and elegance than in the prophecies themselves, that they can hardly be supposed to be the composition of the same person. Indeed, the internal evidence to the contrary almost amounts to a proof that they are not." Professor Child, also, in his "English and Scottish Ballads" (London, 1861), vol. I, p. 95, says, "the two 'fyfts' of prophecies which accompany it (the ballad) in the MSS. are omitted here, as being probably the work of another, and an inferior, hand." Although diffident of venturing an opinion at variance with that of poets and poet-editors, I can hardly think that Fytt I stands alone. Some of the prophecies may be later than others, but I think that, *as a whole*, they flow so naturally from the tale, as a response to Thomas's request for a token of his intercourse with the Lady, without any trace of patching or awkward joining, as to preclude the suspicion of having been afterwards tacked on. As to their style, they could not well, from their nature, be rendered so interesting or lively as the ballad; yet the introduction to them, as well as their conclusion and the parting of Thomas and the Queen, seem not inferior in execution to any part of Fytt I.

On the other hand, it must be granted that, artistically considered, the tale of Thomas and the Lady is far too long and minute to have been invented as a mere introduction to the prophecies, and I willingly admit that the story, perhaps even in a poetic dress, may have existed some time before it was caught up and told anew as an introduction and passport to the predictions. The reference in line 83,

Gyff it be *als the storye sayes*,  
He hir mette at Eldone tree,

implies that there was in existence an older tale of Thomas and the Queen, which fixed the place of their meeting. If we are to suppose that part of the work as it now exists is as old as Halidon Hill, we are taken to a date little more than thirty years after Thomas's own time, a fact, so far as it goes, in favour of the idea of those who think that this older tale may have been composed by Thomas himself, and

that the first-personal style of parts of the existing ballad may have been transferred from his narrative.

If modern editors despise the prophecies, and look upon them as a rubbishy addition to the ballad, it is very clear, that early scribes thought otherwise, and that it was to the respect which the prophecies inspired, that we owe so many MS. copies of the poem as have come down to us; we may be glad that their appreciation of the relative merits of the parts did not lead them all to do like the scribe of the Sloane MS., who omits Fytt I, and dignifies the prophecies alone with a place in his pages. In addition to this MS. four others preserve the poem more or less perfectly, and with considerable differences, as exhibited in the following text. These MSS. and the peculiarities of their texts will be described hereafter; it is only necessary here to note that the poem appears to have been originally by a Scottish author, though all the copies of it now exist in English MSS., and that the strongly northern character of the language as preserved by Robert Thornton, who, as a northern Englishman, would leave it nearly as he found it, is more or less modified in the others, especially in the Lansdowne and Sloane, which are also comparatively late in their transcription. The various modifications introduced by southern or midland transcribers may be well seen in lines 357—372. In these repeated transcriptions also the proper names of Scottish families, and of battles, have suffered so much at the hands of scribes to whom they were devoid of meaning, as often to become quite unintelligible. The results of the battles also are often altered in the different texts, doubtless because the transcribers in many cases did not understand the application of the predictions, and perhaps patriotically changed their burden, in accordance with their own wishes or hopes.

9. I look upon the greater part of the predictions in Fytt III as in reality adaptations of legendary prophecies, traditionally preserved from far earlier times, and furbished up anew at each period of national trouble and distress in expectation of their fulfilment being at length at hand. The origin of these effusions takes us back to the period of Arthur himself, and the expiring efforts of the Britons against Saxon conquest. It is well known that the flush of enthusiasm and hope which swelled the breasts of his countrymen, during Arthur's series of victories over the pagan invaders, was too fondly cherished to be willingly renounced on his premature removal from the scene. Their hero could not be really dead, he had only withdrawn from them for a while—gone on a pilgrimage to a far-off land, retired to some desert sanctuary, or fallen asleep with his warriors in some secret cavern,—and would yet return to rule "broad Britaine to the sea" and scatter



the Saxons to the winds of heaven.<sup>1</sup> "*Hic jacet Arturus, rex olim rexque futurus*"—Here lies Arthur, king of yore and king to be,—reported to have been found inscribed on his coffin at Glastonbury, represented, it is certain, the sacred belief of his people. That belief was common to all the relics of the Cymric race, from Strathclyde to Cornwall, and the shores of Armorica, and was preserved not least faithfully in that Northern land, which, according to all early authority, had witnessed alike Arthur's most splendid achievements and his death. The belief in the "kyd conqueror" yet to come must have cheered the Cumbrian Britons during the long struggle which ended in their incorporation with the Scottish monarchy, and fusion into the mingled stock which produced the later Scottish nation. Even after that fusion, and the loss of their ancient tongue, the loss even of all memory of the actual events to which these expectations and beliefs and dreams of the "good time coming" originally referred, the dreams and prophetic aspirations themselves survived, as dim mysterious legends of the future, foreboding great national crises, perils, and deliverances. Hence the legends of "a bastard in wedlock born, who should come out of the west," "a chieftain unchosen that shall choose for himself, and ride through the realm and Roy shall be called," "a chiftane stable as a stone, stedfast as the christull, firme as the adamant, true as the steele, immaculate as the sun, without all treason," whose "scutifers shal skail all the faire South, fra Dunbertane to Dover, and deil al the lands—he shall be kid conqueror, for he is kinde lord, of al Bretaine that bounds to the broad sea—" against whom in vain

the Saxonys shall chose them a Lord  
That shall make them greatly to fall vnder.  
The ded man shall rise: and make them accord  
And this is much wonder and slight,  
That he that was dead and buried in sight  
Shall rise again and live in the land;—

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<sup>1</sup> A similar belief was cherished by the Britons as to Cadwaladyr, son of Cadwallawn, who, a century and a half after Arthur, "waged, in conjunction with Penda, a successful war against the Angles of Northumbria. For one year he had actually been in possession of that kingdom, and his successful career of upwards of twenty years roused the courage and hopes of the Cymry to the highest." When Cadwaladyr died in the pestilence of 664, his countrymen could not realize that he was gone; "the death was denied, and he was said to have retired to Armorica, whence the Cymry looked for him to return, and re-establish their supremacy over the Angles."—Skene: *The Four Welsh Books*, vol. I, p. 75. It is interesting to see that this British legend also had been preserved in the north. "The prophecy of Merlin," afterwards quoted, has

When the Calualider of Cornwall is called  
And the Wolfe out of Wales is wencust for ay.

who should conquer "Gyane, Gaskone, and Bretane the blyth," and

turne into Tuskane but trefy or true,  
And busk him ouer the mountaines on mid winter euen,  
And then goe to Rome and rug downe the walles,  
And ouer all the region Roy shall be holden ;

who should ride with pride over England and Scotland, and overthrow all false laws, and establish righteousness, till

"bothe the londes breton shal be ;"

who should finally, like a true Christian knight, die in the Holy Land—

For euerie man on molde must de—  
But end he shall in the land of Christ  
And in the valle of Josaphat buried shal be.

The resemblance of many of these expressions, and actual identity of many of the epithets, with those to be found in the old Northern "Morte Arthur," and other kindred works, is very notable.

10. During the wars between England and Scotland, under the three Edwards, and after, down even to the reign of Henry VIII, these scraps of old traditional prophecy were eagerly called to mind, and their dim light anxiously sought for in each successive crisis, the English, as we may suppose, dwelling specially on any passages which brought the "kyd conqueror" out of the south, or spoke of his ruling from "Cornwall to Caithness all Britain the broad," the Scots finding encouragement in the promise that he should finally extirpate the "Saxons," a name which, from its being used by their Celtic fellow-subjects as equivalent to "English" in a linguistic or ethnological sense, the Lowlanders now adopted as equivalent to "English" in the political sense. Strictly speaking, they also were "Sasunnach," or Saxon, to the Celts ; but the effect of the struggle with England was to make them disclaim all "Saxon" connexion, and to use the term only of their enemies of England. Prior to the death of Alexander III, Scotland had enjoyed peace and tranquillity for many generations, and no wonder that the sudden outburst of calamity, with which the country was then assailed, stirred deeply the minds of the people, and led them to anticipate that the mighty overturnings, which were the mysterious burden of these ancient saws, were at length at hand.

Is it too much to suppose that Thomas of Erceldoune may, from his literary tastes, have been a repository of such traditional rhymes, and himself have countenanced the application of their mysterious indications to the circumstances of his country, and thus to some extent at least given currency to the idea of his own

prophetic powers? It is certain at least that many of these ancient fragments were mixed up with the prophecies attributed to him, even as fragments of the latter were from time incorporated in, and blended with, later "prophecies" or prophetic compilations, which continued to be supplied whenever the demand arose, down to the union of the Kingdoms, and to be revered and consulted even as late as the Jacobite risings in the '15, and the '45. In these the name of Thomas Rymour is associated with those of Merlin, Bede, Gildas, and others; and collections of this mystic literature, such as the Sloane MS. 2578, and Lansdowne 762 in the British Museum, from which two of the following texts are printed, and Rawlinson C. 813 in the Bodleian, already existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when Sir David Lyndesay entertained the boyhood of James V with

The prophesies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng,

and the author of the "Complaynt of Scotland" in 1529 found it necessary to warn his countrymen against "diuerse prophane prophesies of merlyne, and vther ald corruptit vaticinaris, the quhilkis hes affermit in there rusty ryme, that scotland and ingland sal be vndir ane prince," to which "the inglismen gifis ferme credit." Merlin, whose name takes us back to the Arthur period itself, was evidently the oldest of these "vaticinaris," and at one time the most venerated, but in Scotland the fame of Thomas Rymour gradually outshone that of all his rivals, so that his pretended sayings were interpolated, and even his authority quoted, to give greater authority to theirs. This is well seen in a collection of these occult compositions printed in Edinburgh in 1603, and since then constantly reprinted down to the beginning of the present century, some of the contents of which must have been written as early as the reign of the Scottish James I (died 1437), while of others, MS. copies are in existence belonging to the same century.

11. The oldest printed edition yet discovered bears the following title: "The Whole prophecie of Scotland, England, and some part of France and Denmark, prophesied bee meruellous Merling, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraîne, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the King's most Excellent Maiestie. Anno 1603." To the goodly fellowship of Prophets here exhibited the later editions add "Also Archbishop Usher's wonderful prophecies."

As several of the pieces in this collection quote Thomas by name, and illustrate the subject of this volume, it seems desirable to give some account of them. The first piece is, like all the older ones, in alliterative verse, and begins, without any title:—

Merling saies in his booke, who will reade right,  
 Althoght his sayings be vncouth, they shalbe  
 true found  
 In the vij. chap. reade who so will

One thousand and more after Christes birth  
 When the Calualider of Cornwall is called  
 And the Wolfe out of Wailes is win cust for ay  
 Then many ferlie shall fall & many folke die.

As to the long-expected return of Calualider, or Cadwaladyr, see p. xxviii, note. This article really consists of three distinct compositions, of which the first predicts that a "Freik fostered farre in the South" shall return to the "kyth that he come from" with much wealth and worship, on whose arrival in Albanie many shall laugh; but his severity will soon give others cause to weep:

At his owne kinde bloode then shall he begin  
 Choose of the cheifest and chop of there heads,  
 Some haled on sleddes, and hanged on hie  
 Some put in prison & much pain shal byde.  
 In the month of Arrane an selcouth shal  
 fall,

Two bloodie harts shall be taken with a false  
 traine,  
 And derflie dung downe without any dome.  
 Ireland, Orkney, and other lands manie  
 For the deth of those two great dule shall  
 make—

in which we see a description of the return of James I. from his detention in England, and his severity against the family of his uncle who had prolonged his captivity. The latter part of this passage was a century later quoted in connexion with the execution of the Regent Morton. "When that nobleman was committed to the charge of his accuser, captain James Stewart, newly created Earl of Arran, to be conducted to his trial at Edinburgh, Spottiswoode says that he asked 'Who was earl of Arran?' and being answered that Captain James was himself the man, after a short pause, he said, 'And is it so? I know then what I may look for!' meaning, as was thought that the old prophecy of the Falling of the heart (the cognizance of Morton) by the mouth of Arran should then be fulfilled. Whether this was his mind or not, it is not known; but some spared not, at the time when the Hamiltons were banished, in which business he was held too earnest, to say that he stood in fear of that prediction, and went that course only to disappoint it. But if it was so, he did find himself now deluded; for he fell by the mouth of another Arran than he imagined."—*Spottiswoode*, 313. In all ages, it would appear, it has been orthodox to wrest a verse of prophecy from its context and circumstances, and find a fulfilment for it in spite of these.

The second and third sections of this piece are found in a much older form in the Cambridge University Library MS., Kk. i. 5, whence they were printed for the E. E. T. S. by Rev. J. R. Lumby in 1870. (*Bernardus de cura rei familiaris*; with some Early Scottish Prophecies, &c. p. 18.) This MS. is late fifteenth century, but the character of the language shows it to be a copy of one belonging to the first half of that century. The order of the two divisions is here reversed, the *first* part

of the poem in the Cambridge MS., lines 1—72 of the E. E. T. S. edition being the *third* in the edition of 1603, and following lines 73—139, which forms the second part in the Edinburgh prophecy. This second part quotes a figure found also in "Thomas of Ersseldoune," and recurring in almost all the prophecies, which thus appears in the older copy (line 103 of Mr Lumby's copy).

In his fayre forest sall ane ern bygge,  
And mony on sall tyne *thar* lyff in the mene tyme;  
They sall founde to the felde, and *then* fersly fyght,  
Apone A brode mure þar sall A battell be,  
Be-syde a stob crose of stane *that* standis on A mure:  
It sall be coueret wyth corsis all of a kyth,  
That the crow sall nocht ken whar the cross standis.

Compare lines 567—576 of Thomas; both are evidently borrowed from some traditional prophecy:—

A Raven shall comme ouer the moore,  
And after him a Crowe shalle flee,  
To seeke the moore, without(en) rest  
After a crose is made of stane  
Ouer hill & dale, bothe easte & weste;

Bot wiete wele, Thomas, he sall find nane.  
He sall lyghte, whare the crose solde bee  
And holde his nebbe vp to the skye;  
And drynke of gentill blode and free;  
Thane ladys waylowaye sall crye.

This section does not quote or name Thomas; it ends with a reference to the legend of "wily Vivien."

For bedis buke haue I seyn, & banysters' als;  
And *merwelus* merlyne is wasted away  
Wyth A wykede womane—woo mycht sho bee!—  
Scho has closede him in a cragge of cornwales coste.

The third part is in rhyme, with much alliteration, and begins—

Qwhen the koke in the northe halows his nest,	Then <i>the</i> mone shall Ryse in the northwest
And buskys his birdys and bunnys to flee,	In A clowde als blak as the bill of A crowe;
Than shall fortune his frende <i>the</i> jattis vp- caste,	Then shall the lyonne be lousse, the baldest & best
And Rychte shall haue his Free entree;	That euer was in brattane sen in Arthuris daye.

It was one of the most popular prophecies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and besides forming, as already mentioned, the first half of Mr Lumby's "Ancient Scottish prophecy" from the Cambridge Kk. MS., it occurs in two of the MSS. that contain "Thomas of Erceldoune"—viz. in Lansdowne 762, fol. 65, with the title "Brydlington," and twice over in Sloane 2578 (leaves 15 b and 100 b). It names Thomas's prophecy as an authority, and mentions several of the mysterious episodes of the third fyfte of our romance; thus:—

<sup>1</sup> "William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward III. The *Prophecies of Banister of England* are not uncommon among MSS."—Warton. Among the contents of Rawl. C. 813 is "*Pars visionis Domini Willielmi Banistre, milytis*" (leaf 142 b).

At Sandyfurde, for-suthe, in the south syde,  
 A pruede prunce in the prese lordly sall lythe,  
 Wyth balde bernis in bushment *the* batell sall mete ;  
*Thar* sall profecy proffe *that* thomas of tellys, &c.  
 Betuix Setone and *the* See sorow sall be wrought.  
 Then the lyonne wytht *the* lyonisses efter *that* sall Reigne ;  
 Thus bretlingtone bukis and banestre us tellis,  
 Merlyne and mony moo *that* mene of may mene,  
 And *the* expositoris Wigythtoun & thomas wytht-all tellis.

In the printed edition of 1603 the two last lines run :—

Merling & many more that with meruels melles  
 and also Thomas Rymour in his tales telles.

What follows is also reproduced in many later prophecies :—

Sone at <i>the</i> Saxonis shall chese þame a lorde,	He that is dede ande beryde in syght
And full sone bryng hyme at vnder,	Sall Ryse ayane, and lyffe in lande,
A dede man sall make [thame] A-corde	In comforte of A yhong knyght
And <i>that</i> sall be full mekyl wonder.	<i>That</i> fortune has schose to be hir husbande.

The "prophecie of Beid," the second in the collection, appeals to Thomas for confirmation, and mentions Sandeford, as in l. 624 of our Romance :—

Who so trusts not this tale, nor the tearme knowes,  
 Let him on Merling meane, and his merrie words,  
 And true Thomas tolde in his time after  
 At Sandeford shall be seen example of their deeds.

Bede died five hundred and fifty years before True Thomas ; but clearly the support of the latter was too valuable to be sacrificed to a trifling question of dates !

His prophecy is specially directed to Berwick-on-Tweed, formerly the first of the four great burghs of Scotland, but now, alas ! in the grip of the English :

Though thou be subiect to the Saxons, sorrow thou not,  
 Thou shall be loosed at the last, believe thou in Christ !

The year MCCCCLXXX is indicated by a method of which many imitations occur after, for the prophets had on the whole but little original genius, and when one of them started game, however poor, the rest all followed in the chase till it was done to death :—

Who so doubts of this dead or denyes heereon,	
I doe them well for to know, the dait is deuised,	
Take the formest of middleird, & marke by the selfe	[M]
With foure crescentes, closed together,	[CCCC]
Then of the Lyon the longest see thou choose	[L]
Loose not the Lyones, let her lye still,	
If thou castes through care, the course of the heauen,	
take Sanctandris Crose thrise	[XXX]
Keep well these teachments as Clarkes hath tolde	
thus beginnes the dait, deeme as thou likes,	
thou shall not ceis in that seit assumed in the text.	

The year 1480 was that in which James III allowed himself to be enticed by the King of France into breaking the truce with Edward IV, as a result of which Berwick was captured by the English in 1482, and in spite of the prophecy, which was no doubt composed or compiled soon after, was never again recovered by Scotland. As to the influence which pretended prophecies had upon the conduct of the king at this very time, see Tytler's *History of Scotland*, p. 214. Nor was the belief in such occult agencies less powerful in England: see Greene's *History of the English People*, p. 268.

"The prophecie of Merlyne," which follows, after 16 lines of alliterate rhyme, beginning—

It is to fal when they it finde  
that fel on face is faine to flee  
That commed are of strodlyngs strinde,  
Waxing through the worke of winde

The Beare his musal shal vpbinde,  
And neuer after bund shal be  
Away the other shal waxe with winde  
And as they come so shall they flee—

introduces an ancient alliterative poem of marked Arthurian cast, which I have reprinted in my Introduction to the "*Complaynt of Scotland*," p. xlvi. From its contents, I am inclined to think that it may have been compiled shortly after the death of Alexander III, and I think the description of the "kid conqueror" and "kind lord of all Bretaine that bounds to the broad See," is clearly derived from obscure legends of the expected return of Arthur.

"The prophecie of Bertlington"—the Brydlyngton,<sup>1</sup> to whom the Lansdowne MS. attributes the "Cok in the North" prophecy—is a medley of older fragments of various ages, some alliterative, some in rhyme, some in both, and some in neither, ingeniously adapted and fitted together, and interpolated with others here first met with, about the son of a French wife, a descendant of Bruce within the ninth degree, who should unite England and Scotland in one kingdom. This, which became in the sequel by far the most famous of all the prophecies, was skilfully analyzed by Lord Hailes in his "*Remarks on the History of Scotland*" (Edin., 1773), and shown to have been intended originally for John, Duke of Albany, son of Alexander, brother of James III and his French wife, the daughter of the Count of Boulogne, who came to Scotland, after the death of James IV in the Battle of Flodden, and from whose regency great things were hoped. Lord Hailes, however, has inadvertently accused the author of inventing many things, which he really found in prophecies of the preceding century, and transferred, as they were still

<sup>1</sup> "John Bridlington, an Augustine Canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote 3 books of '*carmina vaticinalia*,' in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England. MSS. Digby, Bibl. Bodl. 89 and 186. He died, aged 60, in 1379, and was canonized."—*Warton*.

unfulfilled, to his own prediction, honestly believing, no doubt, that they were now to be accomplished. Such were the prediction that Albany should land in the Forth (which he did not), and the "thrice three" years after '13, given him for the performance of his doughty deeds (which he utterly failed to do). He starts with alliterative verse :—

When the Ruby is raised, rest is there none,  
But much rancour shal rise in River & plane.  
Throw a tretie of a true,<sup>1</sup> a trayne shal be made,  
That Scotland shal rew, and Ingland for ever,  
For the which Gladsmoore, & Gouan mure gapes thereafter.

Then, an adaptation of some lines in the prophecy of Merlin introduces the new prediction :—

Betwixt Temptallon & the Basse  
thou shall see a right faire sight,  
Of barges & bellingers, and many broad saile,  
With iij Libertes and the flourdelyce hie vpon  
hight  
And so the dreadful Dragon shall rise from  
his den  
And from the deepe doughtelie shall draw to  
the height.  
Of Bruce's left side shall spring out a leif,  
As neere as the ninth degree,  
And shall be flemed of faire Scotland  
In France farre beyond the see ;

And then shall come againe riding  
With eyes that men may see,  
At Aberladie he shall light  
With hempen halters & hors of tree ;  
On Gosforde greene it shall be seene,  
On Gladsmoore shall the battle be.  
Now Albanie thou make the boun,  
At his bidding he thou prompt, [? yare]  
He shal deile both towre and townne,  
His guiftes shal stand for euer more.  
[? mare]  
Then boldly boun the thereafter.

The original of this is in the "Ancient Scottish Prophecy," No. 1 in E. E. T. S., No. 42, edited by Mr Lumby, already referred to :—

Fra bambrwgh to the basse on the brayde See,  
And fra farnelande to the fyrrh salbe a fayr syght  
O barges and ballungerys, and mony brod sayle :  
and the lybberte with the flurdowlyss sall fayr ther apon.  
Thar sal A huntter in hycht come fra the Southe.  
Wyth mony Rechis on Raw Rewleyd full Ryght.

Then the stob-cross and the crow, the dead man rising, and Gladsmoor, as before :—

Upon a broad moore a battle shal be,  
Beside a stob crose of stone,  
Which in the Moore stands hie,  
It shal be clearly cled ouer with corps of  
knights,  
That the crow may not find where the crose  
stoode,  
Many wife shal weepe, and Sice shall vnder,  
the ded shal rise, and that shal be wonder,

And rax him rudely in his shire shield,  
For the great comfort of a new King.  
Now hie the powok with thy proud showes,  
Take thy part of the pelfe when the pack opens.  
It shall not be Gladsmoore by the sey  
It shall be Gladsmoore where euer it be  
And the little lowne that shall be  
Is betuixt the Lowmond and the sea.

<sup>1</sup> *True, tren*, the proper singular of *trewis*, *trewes*, *truce*, now treated in English as a singular ; Fr. *trève*, pl. *trèves*.



Then,—after much alliterative matter about a hound out of the south, an Eagle out of the north, a Ghost out of the west, and the bastard in wedlock born, as in Thomas, to do doughty deeds, and bring all to peace again,—comes a clearer delineation of Albany, several quotations from Thomas and Merlin, and appeals to them and Bede for confirmation, ending appropriately with an Arthur bit to clench all :—

How euer it happen for to fall,  
 The Lyon shal be Lord of all.  
 The French wife shal beare the sonne,  
 Shal welde al Bretane to the sea,  
 And from the Bruce's blood shall come.  
 As near as the ninth degree.  
 Meruelous Merling that many men of tells,  
 And Thomas sayings comes all at once  
 Thogh their sayings be selcouth, they shal be suith found.  
 And there shal all our glading be,  
 The Crowe shal sit upon a stone  
 And drink the gentle blood as free  
 Take of the ribes, and beare to her birdes,  
 As God hath said, so must it be,  
 Then shal Ladies laddes wed,  
 And brooke Castles, and Towers hie.  
 Bede hath breued in his booke, and Banister also,  
 Meruelous Merling, and al accordes in one,  
 Thomas the trew, that neuer spake false  
 Consents to their saying, & the same terme hath taken,  
 Yet shall there come a keene Knight ouer the salt sea,  
 A keene man of courage, and bolde man of armes,  
 A Duke's son doubled, a born man in France,  
 That shal our mirthes amend, and mend all our harmes,  
 After the date of our Lord 1513. & thrise three there after,  
 Which shal brooke al the braid Ile to him selfe,  
 Betwixt xij. and thrise three the Threip shal be ended,  
 the Saxons shal neuer recouer after,  
 He shal be crowned in the kith, in the Castle of Douer,  
 Which weares the golden garland of *Julius Cesar*  
 More worship shal he win, of greater worth,  
 Than euer Arthur himselfe had in his daies,  
 Many doughtie deedes shal he doe there after,  
 Which shal be spoken of many dayes better.

I have treated this composition at greater length, because it illustrates very clearly the history of the prophecies generally, which were formed by compiling the unfulfilled portions of older predictions already current, and giving them point and application to events now in view or expectation. The prophecy of the French wife's son was a very striking one, and was fondly cherished by the nation. After miserably failing in its original application to Albany, it was served up again and again in new combinations all through the sixteenth century.

It reappears in the next piece in the collection of 1603, "the prophecie of Thomas Rymour" himself, which, from its nominal connexion with the subject of this work, I print entire in the Appendix. Although unconnected with the older poem, it bears a considerable resemblance to it in imagery. There is a vision of a lady on a "louely lee," whose mount and array is fully described, and several lines and couplets are actually taken from the older Thomas. It seems originally to have appeared shortly after the battle of Flodden, referring in lines 109—125 to the doubtful fate of James IV, and in

The sternes three that day shall die,  
That beares the harte in silver sheen,—

to the death of the heir of the house of Douglas.

But it seems to have been interpolated to suit the time of the battle of Pinkie, which is cleverly identified with the "Spyncarde clow" in line 496 of our Romance. Now also the prediction of "the French Wife" and her son was added to the prophecy, being awkwardly interpolated into an inquiry as to the narrator's name, at the close. The origin of this prediction, forty years before, being now quite forgotten, it was accepted as a genuine deliverance of the Rymour himself, and continued to be held in the highest credit as his. It was applied to Queen Mary, as having been the wife of a French prince, by the poet Alexander Scott in his "New Year's Address to the Queen," and finally, when her son James VI actually succeeded to the English throne, the renown of Thomas as the accredited author of the prophecy filled all Britain, and excited attention even beyond the seas.

"The prophecie of Waldhaue,"<sup>1</sup> which comes next, is in fine alliterative measure, reminding one in its commencement of "Piers Plowman":—

Upon Loudon Law a lone as I lay  
Looking to the Lennox, as me leif thought,  
The first morning of May, medicine to seeke  
For malice and melody that moued me sore.

While in this situation the author "hears a voice which bids him stand to his defence; he looks round, and beholds a flock of hares and foxes pursued over the mountains by a savage figure, to whom he can hardly give the name of a man. At the sight of Waldhave, the apparition leaves the object of his pursuit, and assaults him with a club. Waldhave defends himself with his sword, throws the savage to the earth, and refuses to let him rise till he swear, by the law and leid he lives

<sup>1</sup> St Waldhave or Waltheof, the most famous of the early abbots of Melrose (1148—1159), was grandson of the great Earl Waltheof, by his daughter Matilda, wife of Simon de St Liz, earl of Northampton, and afterwards of David I. His life, full of miraculous legends, was written by Joceline, a monk of Furness Abbey.

upon, 'to do him no harm.' This done, he permits him to rise, and marvels at his strange appearance :—

He was formed like a freike, all his foure quaters  
And then his chin and his face haired so thick,  
With haire growing so grime, fearful to see.

He answers briefly to Waldhave's inquiry concerning his name and nature, that he 'drees his weird,' i. e. endures his fate, in that wood ; and having hinted that questions as to his own state are offensive, he consents to tell 'the fate of these wars,' and concludes with—

Go musing upon Merlin if thou wilt  
For I mean no more, man, at this time."

The whole of this scene is exactly similar to the meeting of Merlin and Kentigern as related by Fordun. Merlin's prophetic outpourings consist chiefly of short apostrophes to the principal towns and fortresses of Scotland ; for example :—

What Jangelst thou Jedburgh, thou Jages for nought,  
there shal a gyleful groom dwel thee within,  
The Towre that thou trustes in, as the truth is,  
Shal be traced with a trace, trow thou non other.

The next piece,—“Here followeth how Waldhaue did coniure this Spirit to shew much more of sindrie things to come, as foloweth,”—seems to be a later compilation, made up of pieces from the older prophecies in the name of Merlyne and true Thomas. The transactions of “the Lillie, the Lyon, and the Libbart,” form its immediate burden, but it quotes the legend of the dead man rising again,—

‘as meruelous Merling hath said of before.’

There are also many references to Thomas :—

The first roote of this war shal rise in the north,  
That the Iles and Ireland shal mourne for them both,  
And the Saxons seased into Brutes landes.  
This is a true talking [takyn] that Thomas of tells,  
that the Hare shal hirpil on the hard stones,  
In hope of grace, but grace gets she non,  
Then Gladsmoore and Gouane shal gape there after.

The “token” here alluded to is in the very ancient prophecy of Thomas to the Countess of Dunbar, in the Harleian piece already quoted (p. xviii). The date fixed on seems to be 1485, and the prophecies of Merling, Bede, Thomas and Waldhave, are quoted as already existing :—

When the Moone is dark in the first of the number,	[M]
With foure Crescentes to eik forth the daies	[CCCC]
And thrise ten is selcouth to see,	[XXX]
With a L. to lose out the rest of the number,	[L]
Syne let three and two Threipe as they will	[V]
This is the true date that Merling of tells,	
And gaue to King Uter, Arthures father :	
And for to mene and muse with there merrie wordes,	
For once Brittainē shal be in a new knightes handes,	
Who so hap to hyde shall see with his eies,	
As Merling and Waldhaue hath said of before,	
And true Thomas told in his time after,	
And Saint Beid in his booke breued the same,	
Mute on if ye may, for mister ye haue,	
I shal giue you a token that Thomas of tells,	
When a lad with a Ladie shal goe ouer the fields,	
And many faire thing weeping for dread,	
For loue of there dear freindes lies looking on hilles,	
That it shal be woe for to tel the teind of there sorrow.	

The token of the "Lad," or man-servant and "the Lady," is found both in the old Harleian piece and our Romance ; in the former, among the paradoxical things to happen before the war's end—

When ryȝt and wrong ascentē to gedere,  
When laddes weddeþ levedies ;

in the latter, l. 651, as a result of the carnage in the last battle at Sandyford,

ladys shalle wed laddys ȝyng,  
when *per* lordis ar ded away.

See the same figure repeated in the "Prophecie of Bertlington," already cited, p. xxxvi.

Waldhave's pieces are followed by "the Scottes prophesies in Latine," and "the prophesie of Gildas," seemingly directed against reformation in the church. Older still than Bede by three centuries, Gildas, to do homage to Thomas, still more daringly defies chronology :—

Prepare thee, Edinburgh, & pack up thy packes,  
thou shalt be left void, be thou leif or loath,  
Because thou art variant, and flemed of thy faith  
through Envie & conetousnes that cumbered thee euer.  
True Thomas me told in a troublesome time  
In a haruest morning at Eldound hilles.

Passing "the prophecie of the English Chronicles," an extract from Higden, we come to "the prophecie of Sibylla and Eltraine," which appears to refer to the troubles during the regency of the Earl of Arran in the minority of Mary :—

When the Goate with the gilden horne is chosen to the sea	And the longest of the Lyon,	[L]
The next yeare there after Gladsmoore shal be	Foure Crescentes under one Crowne	[CCCC]
Who so likes for to reade,	With Saint Andrews Crosse thrise,	[XXX]
Mereuelous Marling and Beid,	then threescore and thrise three,	[LX.IX]
In this maner they shal proceede,	Take tent to Merling truly,	
Of thinges unknowne	Then shal the warres ended be	
the truth now to record,	And neuer againe rise.	
And that from the date of our Lord,	In that yeare there shal ring	
Though that it be showne,	A Duke and no crowned king.	
take a thousand in Calculation	Because the prince shall be young	
[M]	and tender of yeares.	

"The date above hinted at seems to be 1549, when the Regent, by means of some succours derived from France, was endeavouring to repair the consequence of the fatal Battle of Pinkie. Allusion is made to the supply given to the Moldiwarte [England] by the fained hart [the Earl of Angus]. The regent is described by his bearing the antelope; large supplies are promised from France, and complete conquest promised to Scotland and her Allies."

Thus shall the warres ended be	And who so likes to looke,
Then peace and pollicie	The description of this booke,
Shall raigne in Albanie	This writes Beid who will looke.
Still without end,	And so doth make an end.

"Thus was the same hackneyed stratagem repeated, whenever the interest of the rulers appeared to stand in need of it."

Happily the need was not to last for ever. That Union, so long expected, and so oft deferred, of England and Scotland, under one sovereign was at length accomplished. To add lustre to it, the Queen of Sheba and the Cumæan Sibyl are rolled into one, and furnish the crowning "prophecy" of the book:—

"Heere followeth a prophesie pronounced by a Noble Queene and matron called Sibylla Regina Austre. That came to Solomon throug the which she compiled foure bookes at the instance and request of the said King Solomon and others diuers, and the fourth booke was directed to a noble King called Baldwine, King of the broad Ile of Britaine: of the which she maketh mention of two Noble princes and Emperours the which is called Leones of these two shall subdue and ouercome all earthlie princes, to their Diademe & Crowne, and also be glorified and crowned in the heauen among Saints. The firste of these two, Is, Magnus Constantinus that was Leprosus, the Son of S. Helene that found the Croce. The second is, the Sixte King of the name of Steward of Scotland the which is our most Noble King!"

12. It was in the year that James VI ascended the English throne that the prophecies, having at length been accomplished, were in greatest credit and renown. Robert Birrell, in his Diary, tells us that "at this time all the hail commons of Scotland that had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and

exponing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of vther prophesies quhilk wer prophesied in auld tymes." John Colville, in his funeral oration on Queen Elizabeth, mentioned the "carmina" of Thomas the Rhymer, which as a boy he had heard quoted by *balathrones ceraulas*, and then looked upon as only subjects for laughter, but now recognized as serious and authentic ; though, like his predecessor Wyntown, he was equally in doubt whether the inspiration of Thomas was Delphic or divine. Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (1580—1640), in dedicating his "Monarchieke Tragedies" to King James, refers to the same belief :—

Ere thou wast borne, and since, heaven thee endeeres,  
Held back as best to grace these last worst times ;  
The world long'd for thy birth three hundreth yeeres,  
Since first fore-told wrapt in propheticke rimes.

Nor does his more celebrated contemporary, William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585—1649), neglect to offer to his royal patron the same flattering incense :—

This is that king who should make right each wrong,  
Of whom the bards and mysticke Sibilles song,  
The man long promis'd, by whose glorious raigne  
This isle should yet her ancient name regaine,  
And more of Fortunate deserve the stile  
Than those where heauens with double summers smile.

*Forth Feasting*, Edin., 1617.

Archbishop Spottiswood (1565—1639) was a firm believer in the authenticity of these compositions. In his "History of the Church of Scotland" he says, "the prophecies yet extant in Scottish *Rithmes*, whereupon he was commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, may justly be admired, having foretold, so many ages before, the union of England and Scotland, in the ninth degree of the Bruce's blood, with the succession of Bruce himself to the crown, being yet a child, and other diuers particulars which the event hath ratified and made good. . . . Whence or how he had this knowledge, can hardly be affirmed ; but sure it is, that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come." (Spottiswoode Society's Ed., Vol. I, p. 93. Edin., 1851.)

13. These alleged revelations received considerable attention even during the Jacobite rising in 1745. It appears that the final accomplishment of the unfilled parts of Thomas's predictions was now expected. The Duke of Gordon, one of the friends of the Stuart cause, was recognized as the "Cock of the North ;" and in the flush of triumph at their easy victory of Prestonpans, within six miles of the parish church of Gladsmuir in East-Lothian, and not a third of that distance

from Seaton, a village about a mile from the sea, on the line of the railway between Edinburgh and Dunbar, the Jacobites identified it with the great Armageddon of the prophecies, the "Battle of Gladsmoor" itself. Hamilton of Bangor sang—

As over Gladsmoor's blood-stained field,  
 Scotia imperial goddess flew,  
 Her lifted spear & radiant shield,  
 Conspicuous blazing to the view ;

\* \* \* \*

With him I plough'd the stormy main,  
 My breath inspir'd the auspicious gale ;  
 Reserv'd for Gladsmoor's glorious plain,  
 Through dangers wing'd his daring sail.

while in other songs we find—

Cope turn'd the chace, & left the place ;  
 The Lothians was the next land ready ;  
 And then he swore that at Gladsmuir  
 He would disgrace the Highland plaidie.

The battle of Gladsmoor, it was a noble stour,  
 And weel do we ken that our young prince  
 wan ;  
 The gallant Lowland lads, when they saw the  
 tartan plaids,  
 Wheel 'round to the right, and away they ran.

For Master Johnnie Cope, being destitute of  
 hope,  
 Took horse for his life & left his men ;  
 In their arms he put no trust, for he knew it  
 was just  
 That the king should enjoy his own again.

It was no doubt in reference to the use thus made of them, that Lord Hailes, in his *Remarks on the History of Scotland* (Edin., 1773), thought it necessary to give a serious refutation of the alleged prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer ; "for, let it be considered," he says, "that the name of Thomas the Rhymer is not forgotten in Scotland, nor his authority altogether slighted, even at this day. Within the memory of man, his prophecies, and the prophecies of other Scotch soothsayers, have not only been reprinted, but have been consulted with a weak, if not criminal curiosity. I mention no particulars ; for I hold it ungenerous to reproach men with weaknesses of which they themselves are ashamed. The same superstitious credulity might again spring up. I flatter myself that my attempts to eradicate it will not prove altogether vain."

The "Whole Prophecies" continued to be printed as a chap-book down to the beginning of the present century, when few farm-houses in Scotland were without a copy of the mystic predictions of the Rhymer and his associates.

14. Nor was the name of Thomas of Erceldoune less known and revered in England than in Scotland. Exclusive of the fact that all the copies we have of the old romance and prophecies have come down to us at the hands of English transcribers, the English prophetic writings of the 15th and 16th centuries abound in appeals to his authority and quotations acknowledged and unacknowledged from the predictions attributed to him. The period in English History, when these

predictions were most in vogue, was that which intervened between the decline of the fortune of the House of Lancaster, about 1430, and the full establishment of the Tudors, and completion of the rupture with Rome under Henry VIII. The numerous battles during the Wars of the Roses, especially that of Barnet, the overthrow of the Yorkist cause at Bosworth, the appearance of Yorkist pretenders under Henry VII, the defeat of the Scots at Flodden, and the daring of Henry VIII in defying the pope and suppressing the religious orders, were all the theme of *soi-disant* prophetic rhymes. One of these, claiming to be a joint production of "*Venerabilis Bede, Marlionis, Thome Arslaydown, et aliorum*" (the last being by far the most certain of the ingredients), and which is in all probability the actual "Propheisies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng," with which Sir David Lyndesay regaled the childish ears of James V, I have printed in Appendix II. In its commencement it is identical with the Scotch "Propheisie of Thomas Rymer," in Appendix I, and the two have evidently been expanded from the same original nucleus. It occurs both in the Lansdowne MS. of 1529, which supplies one of the copies of our romance, and in the Rawlinson MS. C. 813 at Oxford. Both texts, as will be seen, are transcripts of older ones.

The Sloane MS. 2578 also contains many kindred productions, one of which, concerned with the battles "between Seton and the Sea," at Gladsmoor, and at Sandeford, and other mysterious episodes of Fytt III of "Thomas of Ersseldowne," and giving to these an English application, is added in Appendix III; shorter "prophecies" of the same nature appear among the illustrative notes to Fytt III of the romance.

15. In Thomas's own locality of Tweedside, as well as elsewhere in Scotland, many traditional predictions ascribed to him have long been current. Several of these were recorded by Scott in "the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," others have since been given in the "History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club" and other local publications, and by Robert Chambers in his "Popular Rhymes of Scotland." (New Edition, 1870.) Among these, "the Rhymer" is said to have prophesied of the ancient family of Haig of Bemerside,—with an early member of which, Petrus de Haga, we have already seen him connected, and whose family motto, according to Nisbet, was "Tide what may,"

Betide, betide, whate'er betide,  
Haig shall be Haig of Bemerside.

"The grandfather of the present (1802) proprietor of Bemerside had twelve daughters, before his lady brought him a male heir. The common people trembled for the credit of their favourite soothsayer. The late Mr Haig was at length born,



and their belief in the prophecy confirmed beyond a shadow of doubt."—*Minstr. Scott. Bord.*, vol. iii. p. 209. Dr R. Chambers, in a note to this "prophecy" in "Popular Rhymes of Scotland," p. 297, says, "1867—The prophecy has come to a sad end, for the Haigs of Bemerside have died out." My local correspondents inform me that the condolence is premature, as Miss Sophia Haig, the 21st in un-interrupted line from Petrus de Haga, is still alive in Italy.

Sir Walter Scott continues, "Another memorable prophecy bore that the old Kirk at Kelso (fitted up in the ruins of the Abbey) should fall when at the fullest." At a very crowded sermon, about 30 years ago (1770), a piece of lime fell from the roof of the Church. The alarm for the fulfilment of the words of the seer became universal, and happy were they who were nearest the door of the doomed edifice. The church was in consequence deserted, and has never since had a chance of tumbling upon a full congregation.

"Another prediction, ascribed to the Rhymer, seems to have been founded on that sort of insight into futurity, possessed by most men of sound and combining judgment. It runs thus:—

At Eldon tree if you shall be,  
A brigg ower Tweed you there may see.

The spot in question commands an extensive prospect of the course of the river; and it was easy to foresee that when the country should become in the least degree improved, a bridge would be somewhere thrown over the stream. In fact, you now see no less than three bridges from that elevated situation."

Others of these traditional predictions are recorded as :

Vengeance! vengeance! when & where!  
On the house of Coldingknow, now & ever mair!

The burn o' breid, [Bannockburn]  
Sall rin fu reid.

A horse sall gang on Carol side brae  
Till the red girth gaw his sides in twae.

The hare sall kittle [litter] on my hearth stane  
And there will never be a laird Learmont again.

The three latter of these are evidently distorted echoes of passages in the old prophecies. The last of them, in the form "When hares kendles o the herston," is really a line of the old Cottonian prophecy describing the desolation to which Scotland was to be reduced before the end of the English War, but locally it has been adapted to the fate of Thomas's own roof-tree, and in this acceptance says Mr Currie, "I saw it, with my own eyes, fulfilled in 1839, as it may easily have been

many times before. The rumour spread in Earlstoun that one of the Rhymer's most celebrated prophecies had been fulfilled, and I well remember running with all the rest of the town, to see the hare's nest; and sure enough there it was—two young hares in a nettle bush in the fire place!"

"One of the more terrible predictions of the Rhymer is as follows:—

At Threeburn Grange, in an after day,  
There shall be a lang and bloody fray;  
Where a three thumb'd wight by the reins shall hald  
Three kings' horse, baith stout and bauld,  
And the Three Burns three days will rin  
Wi' the blude o' the slain that fa' therein.

"Threeburn Grange (properly Grains) is a place a little above the press, Berwickshire, where three small rills meet, and form the water of Ale. 'Thirty years ago, this rhyme was very popular in the east end of Berwickshire; and about the time of the French Revolution, a person of the name of Douglas being born in Coldingham parish with an excrescence on one of his hands, which bore some resemblance to a third thumb, the superstitious believed that this was to be the identical 'three-thumb'd wight' of the Rhymer, and nothing was looked for but a fearful accomplishment of the prophecy."<sup>1</sup>

"The following," says Dr R. Chambers, "is perhaps not ancient, but it expresses that gloomy fear of coming evil which marks so many of the rhymes attributed to Thomas:

When the white ox comes to the corse,  
Every man may tak his horse.

Similar in spirit is:

Atween Craik-cross and Eildon-tree,  
Is a' the safety there shall be,

varied in Galloway—

A' the safety there shall be,  
Sall be atween Criffel and the sea.

"The first space is one of about thirty miles; the second much narrower. Sir Walter Scott relates that the first of these rhymes was often repeated in the Border Counties during the early years of the French revolutionary war, when the less enlightened class of people laboured under the most agonizing apprehensions of invasion. In the south of Scotland, this prophecy then obtained universal credence; and the tract of country alluded to was well surveyed, and considered by many wealthy persons, anxious to save their goods and lives, as the place to which they would probably fly for refuge 'in case of the French coming.'"

<sup>1</sup> *History of Berwickshire Naturalist's Club*, vol. i. p. 147.

Within my own memory a prophecy used to be quoted of a time when "men shall ride to the horses' reins in blude,—

And if any safety there shal be  
'Twill be 'tween Craig House & Eildon Tree,"

often varied, however, with "'tween Hawick & Eildon Tree." Craig House is a small estate, between Leader-foot and Smailholm, about a mile from Bemerside, and thus at a very short distance from Eildon. The oldest form of this couplet is found in the "Prophecy of Bertlington" of 1515, already quoted p. xxxv :

And the little lowne [shelter] that shall be  
Is betuixt the Lowmond and the sea.

"A verse referring to the future improvement of the country may be taken as a curious specimen of foreseeing wisdom. Thomas had the sagacity to discover that the ground would be more generally cultivated at some future period than it was in his own time ; but also knowing that population and luxury would increase in proportion, he was enabled to assure the posterity of the poor that their food would not consequently increase in quantity. His words were :

The waters shall wax, the wood shall wene,  
Hill and moss shall be torn in ;  
But the bannock will ne'er be braider."

"It is certain that many rhymes professedly by our hero were promulgated in consequence of particular events. Of this character is :

There shall a stone wi' Leader come,  
That'll make a rich father, but a poor son ;

an allusion to the supposed limited advantage of the process of liming. The Highlanders have also found, since the recent changes of tenantry in their country, that Thomas predicted that 'The teeth of the sheep shall lay the plough on the shelf.' I have been assured that the name of Thomas the Rhymer is as well known at this day among the common people in the Highlands, nay, even in the remoter of the Western Isles, as it is in Berwickshire. His notoriety in the sixteenth century is shown in a curious allusion in a witch-trial of that age—namely, that of Andro Man, which took place at Aberdeen in 1598. In his ditty, Andro is charged with having been assured in his boyhood by the Queen of Elfin, 'that thow suld knaw all things, and suld help and cuir all sort of seikness, except stane deid, and that thow suld be weill intertenit, but *wald seik thy meit or thow deit, as Thomas Rymour did*' [that is, beg his bread]. Also : 'Thow affermis that the Quene of Elphen hes a grip of all the craft, but Christsondy [the devil] is the guidman, and hes all power vnder God, and that thow kennis sindrie deid men in

their cumpanie, and that *the kyng that deit in Flowdown and Thomas Rymour is their*.'—*Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 119—121.

"The common people at Banff and its neighbourhood preserve the following specimens of the more terrible class of the Rhymer's prophecies :

At two full times, and three half times,  
Or three score years and ten,  
The ravens shall sit on the Stones o' St. Brandon,  
And drink o' the blood o' the slain !

The Stones of St Brandon were standing erect a few years ago in an extensive level field about a mile to the westward of Banff, and immediately adjacent to the Brandon How, which forms the boundary of the town in that direction. The field is supposed to have been the scene of one of the early battles between the Scots and Danes, and fragments of weapons and bones of men have been dug from it.

"An Aberdeenshire tradition represents that the gates of Fyvie Castle had stood for seven years and a day *wall-wide*, waiting for the arrival of True Tammas, as he is called in that district. At length he suddenly appeared before the fair building, accompanied by a violent storm of wind and rain, which stripped the surrounding trees of their leaves, and shut the castle gates with a loud clash. But while the tempest was raging on all sides, it was observed that, close by the spot where Thomas stood, there was not wind enough to shake a pile of grass or move a hair of his beard. He denounced his wrath in the following lines :

Fyvie, Fyvie, thou s' never thrive,  
As lang's there's in thee stanis three :  
There's ane intill the highest tower,  
There's ane intill the ladye's bower,  
There's ane aneath the water-jett,  
And thir three stanes ye s' never get.

The usual prose comment states that two of these stones have been found, but that the third, beneath the gate leading to the Ythan, or water-gate, has hitherto baffled all search.

"There are other curious traditionary notices of the Rhymer in Aberdeenshire ; one thus introduced in a *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen* written about 1732 : 'On Aiky Brae here [in Old Deer parish] are certain stones called the *Cummin's Craig*, where 'tis said one of the Cummins, Earls of Buchan, by a fall from his horse at hunting, dashed out his brains. The prediction goes that this earl (who lived under Alexander III.) had called Thomas the Rhymer by the name of Thomas the Lyar, to show how much he slighted his predictions, whereupon that famous fortune-teller denounced his impending fate in these words, which, 'tis added, were all literally fulfilled :

Tho' Thomas the Lyar thou call'st me,  
 A sooth tale I shall tell to thee :  
 By Aiky side thy horse shall ride,  
 He shall stumble and thou shalt fa',

Thy neckbane shall break in twa,  
 And dogs shall thy banes gnaw,  
 And, maugre all thy kin and thee,  
 Thy own belt thy bier shall be.'

"It is said that Thomas visited Inverugie, which in later times was a seat of the Marischal family, and there from a highstone poured forth a vaticination to the following effect :

Inverugie by the sea,  
 Lordless shall thy landis be ;  
 And underneath thy hearth-stane  
 The tod shall bring her birdis hame.

This is introduced in the manuscript before quoted, at which time the prophecy might be said to be realized in the banishment and forfeiture of the late Earl Marischal for his share in the insurrection of 1715. The stone in which the seer sat was removed to build the church in 1763 ; but the field in which it lay is still called *Tammas's Stane*.

"One of Thomas's supposed prophecies referring to this district appears as a mere deceptive jingle :

When Dee and Don shall run in one,  
 And Tweed shall run in Tay,  
 The bonny water o' Urie  
 Shall bear the Bass away.

The Bass is a conical mount, of remarkable appearance, and about 40 feet high, rising from the bank of the Urie, in the angle formed by it at its junction with the Don. The rhyme appears in the manuscript collections of Sir James Balfour, which establishes for it an antiquity of fully two hundred years. It is very evident that the author, whoever he was, only meant to play off a trick upon simple imaginations, by setting one (assumed) impossibility against another.

"A native of Edinburgh, who in 1825 was seventy-two years of age, stated that when he was a boy, the following prophetic rhyme, ascribed to True Thomas, was in vogue :

York was, London is, and Edinburgh will be  
 The biggest o' the three.

In his early days, Edinburgh consisted only of what is now called the Old Town ; and the New Town, though projected, was not then expected ever to reach the extent and splendour which it has since attained. Consequently, it can scarcely be said that the prophecy has been put in circulation after its fulfilment had become a matter of hope or imaginable possibility. It is to be remarked, however, that there is a similar rhyme popular in England. Stukely, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, after expatiating upon the original size and population of Lincoln, quotes as an old adage :

Lincoln *was*, London *is*, and York *shall be*  
The fairest city of the three.

“One of the rhymes most popular at Earlstoun referred to an old thorn-tree which stood near the village, and of which Thomas had said,

This thorn-tree, as lang as it stands,  
Earlstoun shall possess a' her lands.

The lands originally belonging to the community of Earlstoun have been, in the course of time, alienated piecemeal, till there is scarcely an acre left. The thorn-tree fell during the night in a great storm which took place in the spring of 1814.

“The Rhymer is supposed to have attested the infallibility of his predictions by a couplet to the following effect :

When the saut gaes abune the meal  
Believe nae mair o' Tammie's tale.

In plain English, that it is just as impossible for the price of the small quantity of salt used in the preparation of porridge to exceed the value of the larger quantity of meal required for the same purpose, as for his prophecies to become untrue.” *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, by Robert Chambers, LL.D. New Edition, 1870, pp. 211—224. (See some additional particulars after the *Notes*.)

There is said also to have been a popular tradition, how far independent of the written remains, one does not know—of the intercourse between Thomas and the Fairy Queen as related in the Ballad. “The popular tale bears, that Thomas was carried off at an early age to the Fairy Land, where he acquired all the knowledge which made him afterward so famous. After seven years' residence he was permitted to return to the earth, to enlighten and astonish his countrymen by his prophetic powers ; still, however, remaining bound to return to his royal mistress, when she should intimate her pleasure. Accordingly, while Thomas was making merry with his friends in the Tower of Ercildoune, a person came running in, and told, with marks of fear and astonishment, that a hart and hind had left the neighbouring forest, and were composedly and slowly parading the street of the village. The prophet instantly arose, left his habitation, and followed the wonderful animals to the forest, whence he was never seen to return. According to the popular belief, he still ‘drees his weird’ in Fairy Land, and is one day expected to revisit earth. In the meanwhile his memory is held in most profound respect. The Eildon Tree, from beneath the shadow of which he delivered his prophecies, now no longer exists ; but the spot is marked by a large stone called Eildon Tree Stone. A neighbouring rivulet takes the name of the Bogle Burn (Goblin Brook), from the

Rhymer's supernatural visitants."<sup>1</sup>—*Border Minstrelsy*, Vol. III, p. 209. Scott adds that "the veneration paid to the dwelling-place of Thomas even attached itself in some degree to a person, who, within the memory of man, chose to set up his residence in the ruins of Learmont's tower. The name of this man was Murray, a kind of herbalist; who, by dint of some knowledge in simples, the possession of a musical clock, an electrical machine, and a stuffed alligator, added to a supposed communication with Thomas the Rhymer, lived for many years in very good credit as a wizard." But Dr R. Chambers, in a note (*Pop. Rhymes*, p. 214), pronounces this account a strange distortion and mystification of the fact that a respectable and enlightened physician, Mr Patrick Murray, who "pursued various studies of a philosophical kind not common in Scotland during the eighteenth century," and is known as the author of some medical works, lived in the tower of Thomas of Ercildoun, then a comfortable mansion; and adds, "when we find a single age, and that the latest and most enlightened, so strangely distort and mystify the character of a philosophical country surgeon, can we doubt that five hundred years have played still stranger tricks with the history and character of Thomas the Rhymer?"

16. Eikdon Tree, referred to in the Romance, and connected traditionally with Thomas's prophecies, stood on the declivity of the eastern of the three Eildon Hills, looking across the Tweed to Leader Water, Bemerside, Earlstoun, and other places connected with Thomas. Its site is believed to be indicated by the *Eildon Stone*, "a rugged boulder of whinstone" standing on the edge of the road from Melrose to St Boswell's, about a mile south-east from the former town, and on the ridge of a spur of the hill.<sup>2</sup> "The view from this point," says a correspondent, "is unsur-

<sup>1</sup> My friend, Mr Andrew Currie of Darnick, has sent me the following tradition of the disappearance of Thomas, which he took down 35 years ago from the mouth of "Rob Messer, a very intelligent matter-of-fact man, well versed in all traditionary lore about Earlstoun, and possessing a wonderful memory for a man of 85":—"Ye want to ken if ever aw heard how Tammas the Rymer disappeared?—Weel, aw can tell ye something aboot that, as aw had it frae ma graanfaither, an' nae doot he had it frae his fore-bears, for we're als auld a family in Yerlsten, —or rather Ercildoun, as it was caa'd i' thae days—we're als auld as the Learmonts. D'ye see thae auld waa's i' the front o' yeir ain shop? weel man, aw mind o' that bein' a gay an' substantial hoose i' maa young days, an' Tammas the Rymer was last seen gaan' oot o' that hoose eae nicht afore the derknin', an' he set off up Leader for Lauder Cas'le; but he ne'er gat there—he never was sene againe. Aw've heard 'at he geade in there to get some deed signed or wutness 't, an' that he was carryan' money wi' him to some Lord or great man up there, 'at he was inmate wi'. But ma graanfaither uist to say—an' nae doot he had it handit doon—that Leader was i' great fluid at the time, an' that Tammas the Rymer had been robbit an' murdert an' his body thrawn into the water, whulk micht take it to Berwick. Au' that's likker-like than the Fairy story! Sae ye hae 'd, as aw had it, frae thaim 'at was afore us."

<sup>2</sup> Mr Currie has a verbal tradition that the tree stood not by the stone, but a quarter of a mile higher up the base of the hill, where he says "the site of it was pointed out to me thirty years ago by the late James Williamson of Newstead, and I believe I could still plant my stick

passed ; on the north you have the vale of Leader almost up to Earlstoun, and Cowdenknowes with its 'Black Hill' rising abruptly from the bed of the stream ; while downward to Tweed the undulating expanse of woody bank is so beautiful, that in the time of the 'bonny broom,' I am often tempted to bend my steps to the spot, and 'lie and watch the sight,' from a spot once 'underneath the Eildon Tree.' In the close vicinity is the 'Bogle Burn,' a stream which rises on the slope of the Eastern Eildon, and flows down a deep glen into the Tweed a little to the north of Newtown St Boswell's. From the Eildon Stone the road descends some 500 yards in a straight line to the bed of the burn, and rises at the same angle to the opposite bank in true Roman fashion. In all probability the name of Bogle Burn is derived, as Sir Walter Scott suggested, from the Rhymer's supernatural visitants."

About half a mile to the west of the Eildon Stone, and on the slope of the same hill, we find the "Huntlee bankis" of the old romance. The spot lies a little above the North British Railway, at the point where it is crossed by the road to St Boswell's already referred to, about a quarter of a mile after leaving Melrose Station. The field next the road and railway at this point (No. 2405 on the Ordinance Map) is called *Monks' Meadow* ; and higher up the hill above this are two fields (Nos. 2548 and 2408) which have preserved the name of *Huntlie Brae*, and to which in old John Bower's time tradition still pointed as the scene of Thomas's vision of the "Lady." West of these lie the site of *Gallows Hill* and *Bower's Brae*, and a long narrow strip to the east, ascending from the road to the top of Huntlie Brae, is called the *Corse Rig*, and still burdened in its charter with an annual payment for the maintenance of the Town Cross of Melrose. From the small plantation at the head of the Corse Rig, at the east end of Huntlie Brae, a magnificent view is afforded of the surrounding locality, and in particular the eye has a full sweep along the road and hill side as far as the Eildon Stone and site of the ancient Tree.<sup>1</sup>

on the spot." But the general voice of tradition is, and apparently has been, that the tree stood by the stone itself. "This spot," says T. B. Gray, Esq., in a note to me on the subject, "is in fact the point of vantage whence the most extensive view in the neighbourhood is commanded. Higher up the hill, or lower down the hill, or farther back on the road, Melrose and all its beauties are lost, and Huntlee Brae itself shut out from sight ; while from the stone, Bemerside, Smailholm Tower, Gladswood, Drygrange, Cowdenknowes, the Black Hill, Earlstoun (almost), Leader-foot and bridge, Galtonside, Galawater, and a long stream of silvery Tweed, start at once upon the view." Mr Gray also thinks that the spot was probably in olden times the site of a cross for the special devotion of pilgrims catching their first glimpse of St Mary's shrine from the east. There was a similar one on the west, at a point called to this day "High Cross," between Melrose and Darnick ; and according to old Milne, in 1743, "a little to the southwest of Dingleton was a famous Cross, yet called the Crosshillhead, but anciently the Halesing of St Wada ; for those that came from the South had first a view of the church here, and of the Tomb of St Waldhaue, and bowed and said their Ave."

<sup>1</sup> For the satisfactory identification of "Huntley Bankes" I am indebted entirely to



Sir Walter Scott seems at first to have looked for "Huntlee bankis" in the vicinity of the Eildon Tree, but, as is well known, he afterwards affected to identify the name with a wild and picturesque ravine, then called "Dick's Cleuch," which runs by the base of the Western Eildon, two or three miles to the west of this, which he, "with his peculiar enthusiasm, purchased at probably fifty per cent. above its real value, in order to include it in his estate of Abbotsford." By skilfully planting the steep and often rugged sides, and leading a romantic pathway up the margin of the burn, which with many a cascade flows through it, he made "the Rhymer's Glen," as he christened it, a place of beauty to be visited by every tourist, albeit its real associations are with the modern "wizard of Tweedside," and not with the ancient seer of legend and tradition. The locality in fact possesses no view, and is not even in sight of the Eildon Tree, distant more than two miles on the other side of the mountain mass of the Eildons, and it may be more than suspected that the desire of bringing some of the romance of the old story to his own estate, was Sir Walter Scott's reason for naming it "the Rhymer's Glen;" although he had this "hair to mak a tether o'," that the name of "Huntley Wood" appears to have been borne by a small plantation which once stood on the hill side above Chiefswood, and so not far from his glen, and his "Huntley-burn."

17. Scott, in the "Border Minstrelsy," and Robert Jamieson, in his "popular Ballads and Songs," Edinburgh, 1806, give what professes to be a traditional ballad of "Thomas and the Queen of Elfland," considered by the former to be a genuine descendant of the old romance modified by oral tradition. "It will afford great

T. B. Gray, Esq., already mentioned, who by indefatigable perseverance has succeeded in seizing the last vestiges of an expiring tradition as to the site. Mr Gray first called my attention to the following passage in old John Bower's Account of Melrose:—"At the foot of the Eildon Hills, above Melrose, is a place called *Huntlie Brae*, where Thomas the Rhymer and the Queen of the Fairies frequently met, according to tradition. A little to the east of this is the *trysting-tree stone*." Mr Gray expressed his opinion that the place referred to must be the field or bank, adjoining what is called the Gallows Hill, but he was as yet unable to find the faintest tradition of the place having borne this name. Subsequently however he writes (8th Nov. 1875): "I am happy to say that I have identified *Huntlie-Brae* to my entire satisfaction, and in such a situation as to give a vivid tone of reality to the old Romance. Through the kindness of James Curle, Esq., of Messrs Curles & Erskines, solicitors here, I have been able to confirm old Bower's statement that there was such a place, and the senior partner of the firm assures me that he recollects quite well his father (an old man when he died) pointing out the very field my suspicions had fallen upon, as 'Huntlie-Brae.' By the Parish Ordinance Map Mr Curle was able to put his finger on the identical spot as fields 2408 and 2584. And now I am pleased to add that the locality is in entire harmony with the poetical reference; for if 'True Thomas' lay on Huntlie Brae or Bank, he would have a clear and distinct view of the 'ladye gaye' all the way along the road, or the hill side, to the Eildon Stone, a distance of fully half a mile. I had the pleasure on Friday afternoon to lead our friend Mr Currie over the spot, and he agrees with me as to the entire harmony between the site and the description in the ballad."

amusement," he says, "to those who would study the nature of traditional poetry, and the changes effected by oral tradition, to compare the ancient romance with the ballad. The same incidents are narrated, even the expression is often the same; yet the poems are as different in appearance, as if the older tale had been regularly and systematically modernized by a poet of the present day." That the "as if" in the last sentence might safely be left out, and that the "traditional ballad" never grew "by oral tradition" out of the older, is clear enough to me, even without the additional particulars that the source of the verses was that Mt Athos of antique ballads, Mrs Brown's MS. Jamieson only says his copy was "procured from Scotland." The two copies differ in extent and expressions. To complete our Thomas literature they are here added in parallel columns.<sup>1</sup>

## THOMAS THE RHYMER.

### JAMIESON.

True Thomas lay o'er yonder bank,  
And he beheld a lady gay,  
A lady that was brisk and bold,  
Come riding o'er the fernie brae.  
  
Her skirt was of the grass-green silk,  
Her mantle of the velvet fine; .  
At ilka tate o' her horse's mane  
Hung fifty siller bells and nine.

### SCOTT.

True Thomas lay on Huntlie bank;  
A ferlie he spied wi' his ee;  
And there he saw a ladye bright,  
Come riding down by the Eildon tree.  
  
Her shirt was o' the grass-green silk,  
Her mantle o' the velvet fyne;  
At ilka tett of her horse's mane,  
Hung fifty siller bells and nine.

<sup>1</sup> Jamieson's copy apparently came from the same source as Scott's; see the following extract from a letter of Anderson, of the "*British Poets*," to Bishop Percy, given by Nicholl: "Mr Jamieson visited Mrs Brown on his return here from Aberdeen, and obtained from her recollection five or six ballads and a fragment. . . . The greatest part of them is unknown to the oldest persons in this country. I accompanied Mr Jamieson to my friend [Walter] Scott's house in the country, for the sake of bringing the collectors to a good understanding. I then took on me to hint my suspicion of modern manufacture, in which Scott had secretly anticipated me. Mrs Brown is fond of ballad poetry, writes verses, and reads everything in the marvellous way. Yet her character places her above the suspicion of literary imposture; but it is wonderful how she should happen to be the depository of so many curious and valuable ballads." See Nicholl's *Illustrations of Literature*, p. 89.

Elsewhere in the same letter we read: "It is remarkable that Mrs Brown never saw any of the ballads she has transmitted here, either in print or manuscript, but learned them all when a child by hearing them sung by her mother and an old maid-servant who had been long in the family, and does not recollect to have heard any of them either sung or said by any one but herself since she was about ten years of age. She kept them as a little hoard of solitary entertainment, till, a few years ago, she wrote down as many as she could recollect, to oblige the late Mr W. Tytler, and again very lately wrote down nine more to oblige his son, the professor."

## JAMIESON.

True Thomas he took off his hat,  
And bow'd him low down till his knee ;  
" All hail, thou mighty queen of heaven !  
For your like on earth I never did see ! " 12

" O no, O no, True Thomas," she says,  
" That name does not belong to me ;  
I am but the queen of fair Elfland,  
And I am come here to visit thee. 16

" But ye maun go wi' me now, Thomas,  
True Thomas, ye maun go wi' me ;  
For ye maun serve me seven years, 27  
Through weal and wae, as may chance to be."

She turned about her milk-white steed,  
And took true Thomas up behind,  
And ay whene'er her bridle rang,  
Her steed flew swifter than the wind. 32

O they rade on, and farther on,  
Until they came to a garden green ;  
" Light down, light down, ye lady free,  
Some o' that fruit let me pull to thee." 40

" O no, O no, True Thomas," she says,  
" That fruit maun no be touch'd by thee ;  
For a' the plagues that are in Hell  
Light on the fruit o' this countrie. 44

" But I have a laef here in my lap,  
Likewise a bottle of clarry wine ;  
And now, ere we go farther on,  
We'll rest a while, and ye may dine." 48

When he had eaten and drank his fill,  
The lady said, " ere we climb yon hill,  
Lay your head upon my knee,  
And I will show you ferlies three. 52

## SCOTT.

True Thomas, he pull'd aff his cap,  
And louted low down to the knee,  
" All hail, thou mighty queen of heaven !  
For thy peer on earth I never did see,"—

" O no, O no, Thomas," she said,  
" That name does not belong to me ;  
I am but the queen of fair Elfland,  
That am hither come to visit thee.

" Harp and carp, Thomas," she said ;  
" Harp and carp along wi' me ;  
And if ye dare to kiss my lips,  
Sure of your bodie I will be."— 20

" Betide me weal, betide me woe,  
That weird shall never daunt on me"—  
Syne he has kissed her rosy lips,  
All underneath the Eildon tree. 24

" Now ye maun go wi' me," she said ;  
" True Thomas, ye maun go wi' me ;  
And ye maun serve me seven years,  
Thro' weal or woe as may chance to be."

She's mounted on her milk-white steed ;  
She's ta'en True Thomas up behind :  
And aye, whene'er her bridle rung,  
The steed flew swifter than the wind.

O they rode on, and further on ;  
The steed ga'd swifter than the wind ;  
Until they reached a desert wide,  
And living land was left behind. 86

" Light down, light down, now, true Thomas,  
And lean your head upon my knee ;  
Abide and rest a little space,  
And I will show you ferlies three.

## JAMIESON.

' O see you not yon narrow road,  
So thick beset with thorns and briers?—  
That is the path of righteousness,  
Though after it there's few inquires. 56

" And see ye not yon braid, braid road,  
That lies across yon lily leven?  
That is the path of wickedness,  
Though some call it the road to heaven. 60

" And see ye not that bonny road,  
That winds about the fernie brae?  
That is the road to fair Elfland,  
Where you and I this night maun gae. 64

" But, Thomas, ye maun hald your tongue,  
Whatever ye may hear or see; 66  
For gin a word ye should chance to speak,  
You will ne'er get back to your ain countrie."

For forty days and forty nights  
He wude through red blood to the knee;  
And he saw neither sun nor moon  
But heard the roaring of the sea. 72

He's gotten a coat o' the even cloth,  
And a pair of shoes of velvet green;  
And till seven years were past and gone,  
True Thomas on earth was never seen. 92

## SCOTT.

" O see ye not yon narrow road,  
So thick beset with thorns and briers?  
That is the path of righteousness,  
Though after it but few enquires.

" And see ye not that braid braid road,  
That lies across that lily levin?  
That is the path of wickedness,  
Though some call it the road to heaven.

" And see ye not that bonny road,  
That winds about the fernie brae?  
That is the road to fair Elfland,  
Where thou and I this night maun gae.

" But Thomas ye maun hold your tongue,  
Whatever ye may hear or see;  
For, if you speak a word in Elflin land,  
Ye'll ne'er get back to your ain countrie."

O they rade on, and farther on,  
And they waded through rivers aboon the  
knee,  
And they saw neither sun nor moon,  
But they heard the roaring of the sea.

It was mirk mirk night, and there was nae  
stern light,  
And they waded through red blude to the  
knee;  
For a' the blude that's shed on earth 75  
Rins through the springs o' that countrie.

Syne they came to a garden green,  
And she pu'd an apple frae a tree—  
" Take this for thy wages, true Thomas:  
It will give thee the tongue that can never  
lee." 80

" My tongue is mine ain," true Thomas said;  
" A gudely gift ye wad gie to me!  
I neither dought to buy nor sell,  
At fair or tryst where I may be. 84

" I dought neither speak to prince or peer,  
Nor ask of grace from fair ladye."—  
" Now ask thy peace!" the lady said,  
" For as I say, so must it be."— 88

He has gotten a coat of the even cloth,  
And a pair of shoes of velvet green;  
And till seven years were gane and past  
True Thomas on earth was never seen.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

THE three fyttres of Thomas of Erceldoune are preserved in four MSS. : the THORNTON MS. in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral; the MS. Ff. 5. 48. in the University Library, CAMBRIDGE; the COTTON MS., Vitellius E. x. ; and the Lansdowne MS. 762, in the British Museum; while the prophecies alone, without the introductory Fytt I., are found in a fifth, the SLOANE MS. 2578, also in the British Museum.

The THORNTON MS. (Lincoln A. 1. 17.) is a well-known repository of romances and devotional pieces in the Northern dialect, many of which have already been printed by the Early English Text Society, written mainly by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire, about A.D. 1430—1440. It "is written on 314 leaves of paper, in a somewhat small hand, in folio, measuring  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $8\frac{1}{4}$ ; but unfortunately imperfect both at the beginning and end, and also wanting leaves in a few other places." The first piece which it contains, a "Life of Alexander the Great," appears to be in an older hand, and to have been originally a distinct MS. In it the letters "þ" and "y" are distinct; while elsewhere in the MS. they are represented by the same character, except in the Romance of *Syr Percyuelle of Galles*, also in a different hand. "Tomas of Ersseldowne" occupies nine pages, beginning at top of leaf 149, back, and ending on the 2nd column of leaf 153, back, with 15 lines, and the remainder of the column blank. It is written in double columns of from 36 to 40 lines in a column. All these leaves are more or less injured; leaf 149 very slightly so, at the lower corner, where the beginnings of ll. 35, 36 are worn off. In leaf 150, the bottom lines in the outer columns—178 on the front, and 218 on the back—are torn through; at bottom of leaf 151, the ends of lines 336—339 and the beginnings of lines 377—379 are torn off. Leaf 152 is greatly injured, the lower part having been torn out by a tear extending diagonally across from beginning of l. 446 to end of l. 440, and from beginning of l. 478 to end of 475 on the front, and from beginning of l. 512 to end of 514, and beginning of l. 555 to end of 560 on the back. Of leaf 153 there remains only a fragment containing on the front 20 lines of the first column nearly entire, the first letters of 15 more, and the four last with the whole of col. 2 gone; on the back similarly, col. 1 is gone entirely, and col. 2 wants a large part of the beginnings of the lines. The mutilated state of this MS. is the more to be regretted, that it occurs at a part of the poem originally found in the Thornton only, and now therefore entirely lost.

This MS. presents, on the whole, a very careful and accurate text ; only in a few places, as mentioned in the subsequent notes, Robert Thornton has misread his original, which can however generally be restored. It is, in date probably, in form certainly, the oldest of the existing MSS., retaining the original Northern form of the language little altered ; while it is free from most of the corruptions with which the next two MSS., the Cambridge and Cotton, abound.

MS. CAMBRIDGE, Ff. 5. 48. A paper manuscript in quarto, of 140 leaves, with about 30 lines on a page, English handwriting of the middle of the 15th century. It consists of five parts, whereof the first, leaves 1—66, contains 13 different pieces, the majority being devotional poems ; the second, leaves 67—78, five pieces similar in character ; part third, leaves 79—94, Homilies for St Michael's day, the feast of the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, &c. ; part 4, leaves 95—114, four articles, of which the first is entitled *Principium Anglie* ; and part 5, leaves 115—140, four articles, of which the second (No. 26 in the MS.) is *Thomas of Erseldoun*. It begins without any title on leaf 119 *a*, and ends leaf 128 *b*, occupying nearly 10 leaves, in single columns. The writing, besides confusing *o* and *e*, *c* and *t*, which in most cases can only be distinguished by the sense, is in many places so much effaced as to present great difficulties to the reader. R. Jamieson, who printed it in his *Ballads and Songs* at the beginning of the present century, says : "The Cambridge MS. has suffered by rain-water nearly as much as the Cotton has by fire, a great part of each page having become illegible by the total disappearance of the ink. By wetting it, however, with a composition which he procured from a bookseller and stationer in Cambridge, the writing was so far restored in most places, that, with much poring and the assistance of a magnifying glass, he was able to make it out pretty clearly. The greatest difficulty he met with was from the unlucky zeal and industry of some person who long ago, and in a hand nearly resembling the original, had endeavoured to fill up the chasms, and, as appeared upon the revival of the old writing, had generally mistaken the sense, and done much more harm than good." Jamieson little thought that his own "unlucky zeal and industry" would in process of time entitle him to equal or even greater reprobation, for the "composition," which he so naïvely confesses to have applied to the MS., has dried black, and both disastrously disfigured the pages and seriously increased their illegibility. Nevertheless, with the experienced help of Mr Bradshaw, to whose kindness words fail to do justice, I have been enabled to reproduce the text with greater accuracy than either of its previous editors, leaving only a very few blanks where words are quite illegible. It presents a Southernized version of the

original, with the sense not seldom, and the rhyme and phraseology often, sacrificed in transliteration (as where *myght and mayne* becomes *mode and mone*, in order to rhyme with *gone*). It has also many scribal blunders, due apparently to its transcriber not being able perfectly to read his original. In its extent it often agrees with the Thornton MS. as against later interpolations and omissions, but it has also large omissions of its own. Where its readings differ from the Thornton, it is generally unsupported by the other MSS. In some places where it presents the greatest discrepancy, it can be seen that originally it had the same reading as T., but was subsequently altered, and this not always, as Jamieson thought, by some one trying to restore indistinct passages, for the original is quite distinct, but crossed through and something substituted. In several instances it misplaces one or more stanzas as to the order of which all the other MSS. agree. My opinion of its text is therefore different from that of Mr Halliwell, who calls it "the earliest and best," and attributes it to the early part of the 15th century, not to mention the idea of Mr Wright, who considered it of the age of Edward II. Nevertheless, it is a valuable MS., especially for those parts where the Thornton and Cotton are partially or wholly destroyed.

MS. Cotton, Vitellius E. x. "A paper volume in folio, in very bad condition, consisting of 242 leaves." This is one of the MSS. that suffered severely in the fire, and consists of charred fragments of greater or less extent of the original leaves, inlaid and rebound. It contains 26 different articles of the most varied character, in very different handwriting, but apparently all of the 15th century, a "Colloquium de rebus aulicis sub initio regni Edwardi IV.," "A sermon preached at the beginning of Parliament, anno 1483," and other similar sermons in the reigns of Edward V. or Richard III. The copy of Thomas of Erseldown which it contains is in a heavy clumsy handwriting of "about or slightly after 1450." It begins on the middle of leaf 240 b, with the rubric, "Incipit propheta Thome de Arseldon," and this page contains two columns of 30 lines each. But the rest of the poem is written in double lines across the page of about 50 (i. e. 100 lines) to the page, divided in the middle by a heavy red line, or (on leaves 241 b, 242 a, and part of 242 b) by a red paragraph mark. Occasionally the scribe has only got one line in, which throws him out, so that his following lines consist not of the two first and two last lines of a stanza respectively, but of the 2nd and 3rd, followed by the 4th and 1st of the next. The poem is written without a break from beginning to end, except that after line 301-2, line 309-10 (the first two of Fytte II.) immediately follows, but is struck out in red, and repeated after leaving a blank space

of one line. Fytt I. thus wants its last three (i. e. six) lines. The poem ends at the very bottom of leaf 243 *a*, with the rubric . . . *hecia thome de Arseldoune*. From the burning of the inner side of the leaves of the MS. scarcely one line of the poem is perfect; very often half the double line is burned away, so that when printed in single lines it shows in many places only the alternate ones. See lines 221, &c. The text of this MS., so far as it goes, agrees closely with the Thornton, but it omits stanzas very often, and, like all the MSS. except the Thornton, it has not ll. 577—604. It has also some singular additions of its own, as lines 109—116, and others near the end.

MS. LANSDOWNE 792, a small 4to MS. of 99 leaves of mixed parchment and paper, of about 1524—30. It contains a memorandum of the different orders of Friars in London, and their quarters, as then existing, "the writing of Valeraunce upon the xxi conjunccion of planetes in the moneth of February, the yere of our Lord 1524;" a few lines satirizing the craving for prophecies, ending

your tethe whet in this bone  
Amonge you euerychone  
And lett Colen' cloute alone.  
The prophecy of Skylton  
1529

also a prediction of signs and prodigies to happen

In the yere of our lorde I vnderstande  
xv° & one and thirty folowand.

as well as various similar predictions for later years. The second half of the MS. consists almost entirely of prophetic literature, articles 45, 61—74, 79, 82, 83, being of this description. "Thomas of Arsildoun" begins without title on middle of leaf 24 *a*, and breaks off on leaf 31 *a* with the first line of a stanza, some 70 lines from the end, and leaving a blank space of several lines' extent on the page. Leaves 24—28 are paper, 29—31 parchment. The writing is very neat and distinct, in single columns of 32 lines to the page, and without a single break from beginning to end, or any larger letter at the fyttis; but it is divided (in this MS. only) into double stanzas of eight lines, by paragraph marks down the margin. The omission of two lines in the 6th stanza (ll. 71, 72) causes the paragraph marks for a short way to be displaced. In addition to its unfinished ending, this MS. omits long passages, and has three additions of its own, lines 141—156, with its counterpart 237—248, and the reference to Robert II., l. 465—468.

MS. SLOANE 2578 is a paper MS. of Prophecies, small 4to (8½ × 6 in.) of 117 leaves, of the year 1547. It contains several (unfulfilled) predictions of prodigies



for the years 1550, 1553, and 1556; and the following table, which no doubt applies to the year of its compilation (leaf 31):

The Sum of y<sup>e</sup> Age of ye worlde vnto y<sup>e</sup> yeare  
of Christ 1547 after the computacion

of	{ the Ebrues	{ 5509
	{ mirandula	{ 5041
	{ Eusebius	{ 6737
	{ Augustyne	{ 6891
	{ alphonse	{ 8522

I copy from the Catalogue the following abstract of its contents, with additions of my own:—

1. Alphabetical index of persons, places, and subjects to the ensuing collection, ff. 1—4.
2. Prophecies relative to events in English History, written in verse and prose. Among them the following may be distinguished.

[Of him that shall wyne the holy cross, leaf 5, *a*]

The second canto of the prophetic rhymes of Thomas of Ercildon, ff. 6—11 *b*.

The prophecy of Cadar and Sibilla, ff. 12—15. Beginning:—

“Cadar and Sibell bothe of them sayes  
The name of Fraunce in his writinge  
Kinge to be clepid in many case  
In all his lyfe and his lykinge.”

Ending :

“As traytours attainte all shalbe tyde  
And thus their sorrow shall wax newe.”

Extract from a prophecy by Merlin, ff. 15 *b*—17 *a*. Begins :

“When the cock of the northe hathe buylde his neaste.”

[See ante, p. xxxii.] Ends :

“desteny shall him not dere.”

[Many leaves of short prose prophecies, including those in Appendix II., and at p. lxxx, of this volume; also the computation of the year 1547 already given.]

Prophecy of events to happen in the year 1553, ff. 61—64. Begins :

“To judge the trouthe as before us hathe bene,  
So judge we maye all that shall us beseme.”

Stanzas f. 64. Begins :

“An Egle shall flye  
Up into the Skye  
With fyer in his mowthe.”

Of the York and Lancaster contests, ff. 68—79. Begins :

“The Scotts shall ryse and make ado  
But the Bull shall purvey therfore,  
That they shall vanishe & home againe go  
And forthink ther rysinge for evermore.”

A prophecy of events in English History, ff. 79 *b*—86. Begins :

“The lande of Albion shall come to corruption by the synne of pride, letcherye,  
herysye and tratorye.”

A prophecy of the persecutions of the Church, ff. 86—88 *b*. Begins :

“In the yere of our Lorde God a M.v<sup>e</sup> lxxv a great tyrant ageynste the Church  
with might and mayne shall sley many of the Church.”

Another copy of the verses begins :

"When the cocke of the Northe hathe bilde his neste."—f. 100 *b*.

3. A key to the prophecies comprised in the foregoing collection, ff. 112 *b*—116.

It might be worth while for one of our publishing societies to print the whole of this MS., as illustrating one phase of English thought in the middle of the 16th century. One of the prose prophecies which specially illustrates Fytt III. of Thomas of Erceldoun is here added in Appendix II., and two other short ones will be found in the Notes.

The prophecy of Erceldoun begins at top of leaf 6 *a*, with the heading,

¶ Heare begynethe þe ij<sup>d</sup> fytt I saye  
of Sir thomas of Arselidon.

It is written in single columns of 28 lines each, uninterrupted by a single break, and ends at foot of leaf 11 *b* with the word "Finis." A peculiarity of the text of this MS. is the very frequent omission of the first line of a stanza, to supply the place of which another is generally interpolated at the end, or some lines farther on, so as to complete the rhyme. The conclusion is also very much abridged, the writer seemingly being impatient of everything not prophetic. In other respects the text agrees very closely with the Thornton MS. both in its extent and readings, always excepting lines 577—604, found only in that MS.

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## PRINTED EDITIONS.

FYTTE I. of *Thomas of Erseldoune* was printed by Scott from the fragmentary Cotton MS. as a note or Appendix to the so-called "traditional ballad" in the *Border Minstrelsy*.

The whole poem was shortly after printed by Robert Jamieson in his *Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts, and Scarce editions*, Edin. 1806, from the Cambridge MS., with collations from the Lincoln and Cotton MSS. Jamieson's edition presents many misreadings and not a few wanton alterations of the text.

It was also printed in full by David Laing, Esq., LL.D., in his *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, Edin. 1822, from the Lincoln MS., with the blanks of that manuscript partially supplied from the Cambridge text.

In 1845 it was printed by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., in his "Illustrations of the

Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream" for the "Shakespeare Society." The Editor used the Cambridge MS. (which he calls the "earliest and best," and attributes to "the early part of the 15th century"), but printed it with much more care than had been done by Jamieson. He also first indicated the existence of copies of the poem in the Lansdowne and Sloane MSS., mentioning at the same time a later transcript to be found in MS. Rawlinson C. 258, in the Bodleian Library. But a careful examination of this MS. (now C. 813) by Mr Cox shows that it contains no copy of Thomas of Erceldoune, but that its second half consists of prophecies, embracing many of those found in Lansdowne 792 and Sloane 2578, some of which quote Thomas's authority. The Rawlinson C. MSS. have lately been catalogued, and no copy of "Thomas of Erceldoune" appears among them.

Finally, Professor F. J. Child of Harvard University, U.S., in the first volume of his *English and Scottish Ballads*, London, 1861, reprinted the first fyfte of the Thornton text from Dr Laing's edition of 1822, with corrections. He endorses Dr Laing's opinion that the Thornton is the earliest text, and "in every respect preferable to that of either of the other manuscripts;" an opinion, the correctness of which will be apparent on a very slight examination of the following pages.

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## THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE following text exhibits all the MSS. printed in parallel columns. In Fytte I., where there are only four versions, they are printed in the following order: THORNTON, COTTON: LANSDOWNE, CAMBRIDGE. But from Fytte II., where the SLOANE MS. begins, it takes the place of the Cotton in the parallels, and the fragmentary Cotton text is printed below. Up to line 68 of this edition, the lines of the Cotton text represent those of the MS., but at that point the latter begins to be written in double lines across the page, so that the printed lines represent the half lines of the MS. indicated by a red paragraph mark in middle of the line. This will explain why, in many places, full lines alternate with defective ones or blank spaces, where the beginning or end of the MS. lines are burned. But from Fytte II., where the Cotton text occupies the foot of the page, the lines are printed as in the MS. with a dot separating the two halves, though for convenience of reference they are numbered to agree with the single lines above. I have used the thorn (þ) all through wherever the MSS. represent *th* by a single character,

whether or not this is identical in form with the *y* of the MS. In the Lincoln MS., the *thorn* is identical with the *y*, and except at the beginning of a line is regularly used for *th* in the 2nd personal pronoun and demonstrative words, according to the ordinary MS. usage. In the Cambridge and Cotton MSS., where also the *þ* is in form identical with the *y*, its use for *th* is still more regular. The Lansdowne uses the thorn sparingly, but where it does occur it is usually a true *þ* with a tall head, and quite distinct from *y*. Its usual place is here in the 2nd personal pronoun forms, also often in *oper*, *anoþer*; and occasionally it turns up in strange positions, as in *fryþ*, l. 319; *þryue* and *þe*, l. 344; *þryue* again 464; *boþe*, l. 525.<sup>1</sup> In the Sloane MS. the thorn is more frequent, and always like a *y*.

The punctuation and inverted commas are the Editor's, but the capital letters are as in the MSS. In the Cambridge and Lansdowne MSS., however, it is often doubtful to say whether the initial *A* is meant for a capital or not; both in form and size, it has a sort of medial or hybrid character which passes insensibly into either the capital or small letter. In the Thornton the single and final *i* has always a tail extending below the line. It is here printed 'j'; but of course it was not a distinct letter, only a "distinguished *i*" used when the letter stood alone, or at the end of a word to render it more prominent. The barred *H* and *h*, tagged *n*, and other marked letters, whose meaning—if they had any—is doubtful, are retained in the text. Letters and words accidentally omitted, illegible, obscure, or in any way doubtful, are enclosed in brackets. These will be found very frequent in the Cambridge text for reasons already given in describing that MS.; and it will be understood that all words there enclosed in brackets indicate indistinct places in the MS., as to the reading of which there exists a reasonable certainty. Where I have put dots the words are quite gone, although comparison with the other texts there also generally indicates what is to be supplied.

On account of the different extent of the poem in the various MSS., and the fact that passages which are found in one are wanting in another, the arrangement of the texts in parallel columns necessitates frequent breaks in every text, and in almost every page. *There are no breaks or paragraphs in the MSS.*, which are written *straight on uninterruptedly*, with no recognition of any omitted passages. The stanzas, if indicated, are shown only by lines connecting the ends of the rhyming lines, except in the Lansdowne, which indicates them by marginal paragraph

<sup>1</sup> Through an error in the press the thorn appears in the printed text in the following places where the MS. has *th* full: l. 44 *the*, 108 *whethere*, 133 *clothyn*, 135 *other*, 139, 140 *the*, 171 *that*, 188 *the*, 231 *the*, 261 *The*, 284 *thre*, 292 *the*, 296 *There*, 449 *The*, 544 *the*. In every other place it is as in the MS.

marks. There are no breaks even at the beginnings of Fyttes II. and III., though some of the MSS. commence these with large initial letters as shown in the printing.

In a few places where the Cambridge MS. misplaces stanzas, so that the parallel arrangement cannot be maintained, the transposition is carefully noted by the numbering of the lines, as, for example, ll. 264, 272 ; 628, 640.

The poem is really in 8-syllabic four-line stanzas, the first line rhyming with the third and the second with the fourth—ordinary "Long Metre" indeed—and would have been here printed as such, but for difficulties occurring where the second line of one text answers to the first of another, as is the case several times with the Sloane MS.

In numbering the lines, every line and stanza is counted that occurs in any MS., except such as are clearly accidental interpolations, like the two lines in the Thornton, between l. 136 and 137, or those added in the Sloane MS. to make up for a line previously omitted. To this numbering, which is applicable to all the texts, all references are made. To show, however, what would be the actual numbering of the separate texts, and to what lines of each any given lines of the printed edition answer, the following Collation is added, which will also serve to show more distinctly the passages present and absent in each MS. In cases where a different order of stanzas or lines occurs in different MSS., I have followed the order of the majority, or if there are only two texts, that which the sense seemed to recommend.

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## COLLATION

### OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE,

showing the lines present and absent in the various MSS., and the actual lines in each, which answer to each other and to those numbered in the printed text.

The black line indicates the absence of the passage in that MS.

(For example, the *five* lines, 89—93 of the printed text, represent ll. 81—85 of the Thornton MS., 59—63 of the Lansdowne, 61—65 of the Cambridge, and originally answered to 61—65 of the Cotton, destroyed through the partial burning of the MS. They are altogether *wanting* in the Sloane.

The *four* lines 229—232 represent 199—202 Thornton, 169—172 Cotton, 183—186 Lansdowne, 173—176 Cambridge, in which MS. they are misplaced between ll. 224 and 225 of the general numbering.)

## PROLOGUE.

PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
1—24	1—24	—	—	—	—	24
FYTT I.						
25—41	25—41	—	1—17	1—17	1—17	17
42—45	—	—	—	18—21	—	4
46—64	42—60	—	18—36	22—40	18—36	19
65—68	—	—	37—40	—	37—40	4
69	(61) accidentally omitted	—	41	41	41	1
70	62	—	42	42	42	1
71—72	63—64	—	43—44	—	43—44	2
73—88	65—80	—	45—60	43—58	45—60	16
89—93	81—85	—	(61—65)lost	59—63	61—65	5
94—108	86—100	—	66—80	64—78	66—80	15
109—116	—	—	81—88	—	—	8
117—136	101—120	—	89—108	79—98	81—100	20
(unnumbered)	121—122	—	—	—	—	[2]
137—140	123—126	—	109—112	99—102	101—104	4
141—156	—	—	—	103—118	—	16
157—160	127—130	—	113—116	119—122	105—108	4
161—164	131—134	—	—	—	109—112	4
165—188	135—158	—	117—140	123—146	113—136	24
189—192	159—162	—	—	147—150	137—140	4
193—196	163—166	—	141—144	151—154	141—144	4
197—200	167—170	—	—	—	145—148	4
201—208	171—178	—	145—152	155—162	149—156	8
209—212	179—182	—	—	163—166	157—160	4
213—224	183—194	—	153—164	167—178	161—172	12
[229—232]	(see below)	—	(see below)	(see below)	173—176	[4]
225—228	195—198	—	165—168	179—182	177—180	4
229—232	199—202	—	169—172	183—186	(see above)	4
233—236	203—206	—	173—176	189—190	181—184	4
237—248	—	—	—	193—202	—	12
249—260	207—218	—	177—188	203—214	185—196	12
[269—272]	(see below)	—	(see below)	(see below)	197—200	[4]

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PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
261—268	219—226	—	189—196	215—222	201—208	8
269—272	227—230	—	197—200	223—226	(see above)	4
273—302	231—260	—	201—230	227—256	209—238	30
303—308	261—266	—	—	257—262	238—244	6

## FYTT II.

309—316	267—274	1—8	237—244	261—270	245—252	8
317—320	275—278	9—12	—	269—274	253—256	4
321—324	279—282	13—16	245—248	273—278	257—260	4
325—328	283—286	17—20	249—252	—	261—264	4
329	287	(21) accidentally omitted	253	—	265	1
330—332	288—290	22—24	254—256	—	266—268	3
333—336	291—294	25—28	—	—	269—272	4
337—340	295—298	29—32	257—260	—	273—276	4
341—352	299—310	33—44	261—272	277—290	277—288	12
353—356	311—314	45—48	—	—	289—292	4
357—360	315—318	49—52	273—276	289—292	293—296	4
361—364	319—322	53—56	277—280	293—298	*297—300	4
365—372	323—330	57—64	281—288	297—306	301—308	8
373—376	—	—	—	—	309—312	4
377—384	331—338	65—72	289—296	305—314	313—320	8
[397—400] (see below)	(see below)	(see below)	297—300	(see below)	—	[4]
385—388	339—342	73—76	—	313—318	321—324	4
389—396	343—350	77—84	301—308	317—326	—	8
397—400	351—354	85—88	(see above)	325—330	—	4
401—412	355—366	89—100	309—320	329—342	—	12
413—416	367—370	101—104	—	341—346	—	4
417—418	371—372	105—106	—	345—348	325—326	2
419—420	373—374	107—108	321—322	347—350	327—328	2
421—422	375—376	—	323—324	349—352	329—330	2
423—424	377—378	—	325—326	351—354	—	2
425—426	379—380	109—110	327—328	355—356	—	2
427—428	381—382	111—112	329—330	357—358	331—332	2
(extra lines)	—	—	331—332	—	—	[2]
429—430	383—384	113—114	333—334	—	333—334	2
431—432	—	115—116	335—336	—	335—336	2

## COLLATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FIVE MANUSCRIPTS.

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PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
433—440	385—392	117—124	337—344	359—366	337—344	8
441	393	125	345	367	—	1
442	394	—	346	368	—	1
443—450	395—402	126—133	347—354	369—376	—	8
(extra line)	—	134	—	—	—	[1]
451—466	403—418	135—150	355—370	377—392	—	16
467—470	—	—	—	393—396	—	4
471—472	419—420	151—152	371—372	397—398	—	2
473—474	421—422	153—154	(see below)	399—400	—	2
475—476	423—424	155—156	373—374	401—402	—	2
[473—474]	(see above)	(see above)	375—376	(see above)	—	[2]
477—478	425—426	157—158	377—378	403—404	345—346	2
479—480	(427—428)	159—160	379—380	405—406	347—348	2
481	(429)	—	381	407	349	1
482—484	(430—432)	161—163	382—384	408—410	350—352	3
[extra]	—	164	—	—	—	[1]
485—488	(433—436)	165—168	385—388	411—414	353—356	4

## FYTT III.

489—492	437—440	—	389—392	415—418	—	4
493—500	441—448	169—176	393—400	419—426	357—364	8
501—504	449—452	177—180	401—404	427—430	—	4
505—508	453—456	181—184	405—408	—	365—368	4
509—512	457—460	185—188	409—412	431—434	369—372	4
513—514	458—462	189—190	413—414	435—436	—	2
515—524	(463—472)	191—200	415—424	437—446	—	10
525—527	(473—475)	201—203	425—427	447—449	373—375	3
528	476	204	428	450	376	1
529	477	—	429	451	377	1
530—536	478—484	205—211	430—436	452—458	378—384	7
[extra]	—	212	—	—	—	[1]
537—548	485—496	213—224	437—448	459—470	—	12
549—552	497—500	225—228	—	—	385—388	4
553—560	501—508	229—236	449—456	—	389—396	8
561—564	—	—	(457—460)	—	397—400	4
565—571	(509—515)	237—243	461—467)	—	401—407	7



PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
572—576	516—520	244—248	468—472	—	408—412	5
577—591	525—535	—	—	—	—	15
592—604	(536—548)	—	—	—	—	13
605—606	(549—550)	249—250	473—474	—	413—414	2
607—608	(551—552)	251—252	475—476	—	415—416	2
609—614	(553—558)	253—258	477—482	471—476	417—422	6
615—616	(559—560)	—	483—484	477—478	423—424	2
617—620	(561—564)	259—262	485—488	479—482	425—428	4
[637—644]	( )	(see below)	(see below)	—	*429—436	[8]
621—628	(565—572)	263—270	489—496	483—490	437—444	8
629	(573)	*271	497	491	445	1
630—632	(574—576)	*272—274	498—500	—	446—448	3
633—636	(577—580)	275—278	501—504	—	—	4
637—640	(581—584)	*279—282	—	—	(see above)	4
641—644	(585—588)	*283—286	505—508	—	(see above)	4
645—660	(589—604)	287—302	509—524	—	449—464	16
661—664	(605—608)	—	525—528	—	465—468	4
665—677	(609—621)	303—315	529—541	—	469—481	13
678—680	622—624	316—318	542—544	—	482—484	3
681—684	—	—	545—548	—	—	4
685—686	625—626	319—320	549—550	—	—	2
687—688	627—628	—	551—552	—	—	2
689—692	—	—	553—556	—	—	4
693—695	629—631	—	557—559	—	485—487	3
696	632	321	560	—	488	1
697—700	633—636	—	561—564	—	489—492	4

## NOTES TEXTUAL AND EXPLANATORY.

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The PROLOGUE is found only in the Thornton MS., and is presumably no part of the Romance in its original form, although from its occurrence in the earliest MS. it must be little later than the completion of the poem itself as we now have it. It takes the form of a prelude by a minstrel or reciter to commend the poem to the attention of his audience who are twice committed as "ynglyscheinen" to the safe keeping of Christ. Unless the word may have been changed for "Scottismen," the prologue is therefore the addition of a northern English author. Its dialect is pure Northern, less altered even than the text itself.

L. 1 *lystyns*, l. 2 *takis*, l. 10, 12 *hase*. In the Northern dialect since the 12th or 13th century the plural of the present indicative and imperative has ended in *-s*, when *unaccompanied* by its proper pronoun *we*, *ye*, *they*. When these are present there is no termination. See *Dialect of Southern Scotland*, pp. 211—214.

l. 2. *takis gude tente*, take good heed; *tent*, *no.*, care, attention, *vb.* to attend, *take heed*; "Tent me, billie—there's a gullie!"—*Burns*.

l. 7. *pristly*, readily, quickly, actively. l. 8. *blyne*, cease.

l. 11. *sere*, various, several. l. 15. *tyte*, soon, quick.

l. 16. *sythene*, for the Northern *sen*, *syne*, as in l. 6, which would improve the rhyme.

l. 22. *by-leue*, remain; German *bleiben*, Dutch *blijven*.

### FYTTE I.

l. 25—28. The Cotton differs considerably from the others, Th. and Ca. showing the original reading.

l. 25. *Endres-day* = *ender day*, this by-gone day. Icel. *endr*, of yore, formerly. Lat. *ante*.

"As I myselte lay this enderz nyght

All alone withowten any fere."—*MS. Rawl. C.* 813, leaf 54.

l. 26. *grykyng*, the grayng, or gray of the morning:

"It was na gray day-licht."

l. 28. *Huntle bankys*, on Eildon Hills, near Melrose. See Introduction, p. li.

l. 30. *Mawes, mavys*; L. corruptly *maner* for *maues*, the mavis or song thrush; but the *throstyll* of the preceding line is also the thrush, which L. accordingly changes into the *merle* or blackbird. *menyde*, Co. corruptly *movyde*, bemoaned herself, sung plaintively.

l. 30, 32. *songe, ronge*, doubtless originally the Northern *sang, rang*, as in l. 56.

l. 31. The *Wodewale*, the wood-lark. *beryd*, Ca. corruptly *farde*, vociferated, made

a noise; "the rumour of rammasche foulis and of beystis that maid grete *beir*."—*Compl. of Scotl.*, p. 38, l. 24.

l. 32. *shawys* in L. for *wode* of others, still used as an equivalent, in the north. Isl. *skóg*, Dan. *skov*.

l. 36. *louely*, Ca. and L., is no doubt the original, corrupted by T. to *longe*, and glossed by Co. as *fayre*. In Ca. *lonely* would be as good a reading of MS., but was *lonely* = *al-onely*, then in existence?

l. 37. *zogh*, Co. for *pogh*, the *p* and *z* frequently confounded by ignorant scribes.

l. 38. *wrabbe* and *wrye*: *wrobbe*, *wrabbe* = warble? sing; *wry* = *wray*, bewray, reveal. Or perhaps Sc. *wrable*, *warble*, *wurble*, to wriggle, and *wrye*, to twist; to wriggle and twist *with the tongue* in the attempt to find language to describe her.

l. 40. *askryed*, *skryed*, *discryued*, described; Fr. *escri-re*, *descri-re*.

l. 41—72. The description of the lady, in which T. and Ca. closely agree, varies much in Co. and L., the latter inserting l. 42—45.

l. 46—48. *none*, *schone*, *bone*, *stone*, in pure Northern would be *nane*, *schane*, *bane*, *stane*; which the original doubtless had. See ll. 81, 83; 345, 347.

l. 49. *Selle*, *sadyl*, *sege*, equivalents, the latter properly a seat (of honour). *Roelle bone*, called also *rewel bone*, *rowel bone*, *reuylle bone*, "an unknown material of which saddles especially are in the romances said to be made." See Chaucer's "Sir Topas," which presents several points of contact with the description here:—

His jambeux were of cuirbouly,  
His swerdes sheth of ivory,  
His helme of latoun bright,  
His *sadel* was of *revel-bone*,  
His *bridel* as the *sonne shone*,  
Or as the mone light.

His spere was of fin cypress  
That bodeth werre, and nothing pees,  
The hed ful sharpe y-ground;  
His *stede* was all *dapple gray*,  
It goth an aumble in the way  
Fully softly and round  
In lond."

Rev. W. W. Skeat suggests that "*rowel* = Latin *rotella*, Fr. *rouelle*, i. e. bone rounded and polished, for the front or peak of the saddle."

l. 52. *Crapotee*, toad stone: smaragdus or emerald, "which often contains a flaw, in shape suggesting a toad." The *Promptorium Parvulorum* has "Crepawnde, or crapawnde, precyous stone (crepaud, P.) Samaragdus."

*Note*. "Crapaude, a precious stone, crapaudine." Palsgrave. Cotgrave explains crapaudine as signifying "the stone chelonitis, or the toad stone." In the Metrical Romance of Emare is described a rich vesture, thickly set with gems, rubies, topaze, "*crapowtes* and *nakette*;" the word is also written *crapawtes*. More detailed information will be found in Gesner, de quadrup. ovip. II. 9. See also Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, "As You Like It," Act 2, Sc. i.; and the word "toadstone" in Nares' Glossary.

l. 53. *Stones of Oryente*, Eastern or Oriental gems; the name may have been given definitely to some stones or varieties of stones only found in the East, as the *Turquoise*, which derives its name (*pierre turquoise*) from Turkestan, where alone it is found. "The name *Oriental Emerald* is given to a very rare beautiful and precious green variety of Sapphire." "The finest red *rubies* are generally called *Oriental Rubies*." So also in "Alliterative Poems," edited by Dr Morris, we have

"þe grauayl that on grounde can grynde  
Wern precious *perlez of oryente*."

*Oryons* in Ca. may be *oryens*, as *o* and *e* are generally indistinguishable in this MS.

1. 54. *hang*, Northern past tense of *hing*.  
 1. 55, 56 are properly wanting in L., but lines 71, 72 are brought from their own place instead; ll. 57—60 are quite altered in L. and Co.  
 1. 56. *a whylle*, one while; indef. article and numeral, identical in N. dialect.  
 1. 57. *garthes*, girths or garters?  
 1. 60. *perelle*, pearl; Ca. *perry*, *pierreries*, jewels, precious stones.  
 1. 61. *payetrelle*, "breast-leather of a horse"; Fr. *poitrail*; L. corruptly *parrell*, apparel.

*Iral*, T. *jral fyne*, Ca. *riall fyne*, Co. *yra* . . . . L. *Alarane*; the original probably, *Iral-stane*, rhyming with *schane*. So in the "Anturs of Arthur at Tarn-wathelan," the Ireland MS. has

"Betun downe berels, in bordurs so bryzte  
 That with *stones iraille* were strencult and strauen,  
 Frettut with fyne gold that failis in the fyte."

And the Thornton MS. of the same:—

"*Stones of iral* they strenkel, and strewe,  
 Stipe stapeles of stele þey strike don stiȝt."

I can get no light on *iral-stane*; the scribes also seem not to have understood it, and hence their alterations, *riall*, *alarane*, &c.

1. 62. *Orphare*, orfevrie, goldsmiths' work; Lat. *aurifaber*, Fr. *orfèvre*, a goldsmith.  
 1. 63. *Reler* in L. perhaps corrupt for *silver*, as *gold*, which the others have, had been already put in the rhyming line.

1. 65—68 in Co. look like a variation of the stanza before, with the lines,

"A semly syȝt it w[as to se]  
 In euery joynt [hang bellis thre]."

1. 65. Ca. for *ijj*, *four* was originally written and struck out.  
 1. 67—70 in Ca. are clearly an awkward interpolation in the midst of an original stanza; the lines are omitted in MS., but written at side and foot with marks of insertion.

1. 68. *lire* in Ca. (A.S. *hleor*) face, cheek.  
 1. 69. *grewe hound*, the Grey hound or Greek hound, *Canis Graius*, still called in Scotland a *Grewe*, which was the Older Scotch for a *Greek*.

1. 70. *rache*, a hound that follows by the *scent*, as the *Grewe* does by *sight*.  
 1. 71. *halse*, neck; A.S. *heals*.  
 1. 72. *flone*, properly *flane*, to rhyme with *rane* above, an arrow; A.S. *flán*.  
 1. 74. *ane* semely tree, bespeaks a Scotch original.

1. 75. *He sayd*: so l. 87, and *sayd*; l. 157, *scho sayd*; l. 161, *And sayd*. These words, as in the old Romances generally, are *extra-metrical*, and are rather directions to the reader or reciter, like the names of speakers in a Shakspearian play, or our modern inverted commas, than part of the poem, to be said or sung. They were *read* only by a change of tone or a gesture.

1. 75, 77. *ȝone*, Th.; the other MSS. show that this demonstrative was already little used in English proper.

1. 80, 84. *Eldoune tree*. A solitary tree that formerly stood on the slope of one of the three Eildon Hills near Melrose; see Introduction, p. l. Ca. does not understand the local reference, and makes *eldryne* = *eldern*, like *oaken*, *beechen*.

- l. 81. *radly, rathely*; A.S. *hrædlice*, quickly, readily. The Northern *rase*, when altered to *rose* in the other three MSS., ceases to rhyme with *sayes*.
- l. 83. *als the storye sayes*, and again 123, *als the storye tellis full ryghte*, implies an older version of the tale than that in the poem. See Introduction, p. xxiv.
- l. 87. *and sayd*, T. and Co. See l. 75, n.
- l. 89. *mylde of thoght* in T. and L., shown by the rhyme to be the original.
- l. 94. *payrelde*, apparelled.
- l. 95. *fee* in the original sense of A.S. *feoh*, Germ. *Vieh*, beasts, cattle.
- l. 96. *rynnys*, Northern pl. with noun subject, of which Ca. *rannen* for *rennen* is Midl., and L. *rennyng*, a scribal misconception of the latter.
- l. 98. *balye* in Ca. mistake of scribe for *folye*; so l. 31, *farde* for *beird*.
- l. 99. *wysse, wyce, wise*, rhymes with *price*. It is still always so pronounced in North.
- l. 102. Ca. reads *let meþ me be*.
- l. 104. *synne* in T. probably an interpolation; gives rise to mistake in L. of *syne*, then, thereafter.
- l. 106. L. read *dwelle*. l. 107. *trouche* = *trouthe*.
- l. 108. *by leues*. See l. 22.
- l. 109—116, interpolated in Co., are not in keeping with the context, but probably the boast which the lady fears was true to the manners of the age.
- l. 115. *crystenty*; Fr. *chretienté*, Christendom.
- “Three blither lads that lang lone nicht  
Were never found in *Christendee*.”—Burns.
- l. 116. Co. *wryede*, accused, bewrayed; A.S. *wrēzean*, *wrezod*.
- l. 119. T. *chewys þe werre*; Co. *cheuyst*, achievest, succeedest, comest off, the worse; Ca. glosses *thryuist*, and L. corrupts to *chece hit*, perhaps *chesit*, chose!
- l. 125. *the[e] lykes*, impersonal, *te delectat*.
- “At first in heart *it liked me ill*  
When the king praised his clerkly skill.”—Scott, *Marmion*, vi. 15.
- l. 126. *byrde*, bride, married lady; Piers Plowman has *burde*, *buirde*, *birde*, *berde*; *deel* = *dele*, deal, probably the original; Ca. has *dwel*.
- l. 132. *are*, A.S. *ær*, ere, before.
- l. 135. *hir a schanke blake*, her one leg black, her other grey. Ca. had originally,
- “þe too shanke was blak, þe toþur gray  
and alle hir body like þe leede.”
- which is the same as T. (*þe too, þe toþur* = *þet oo, þet-oþur*, the one, the other); but the second hand has altered it into the reading of the text, where *bloo*, *beten*, and *leed*, may be equally *blee*, *beton*, *lood*.
- l. 139. *fasyd* in L., a scribal error for *fadyd*.
- l. 141—156. L. The conduct attributed to Thomas is unworthy, and the whole scene out of keeping. The rhymes also break down into mere assonances.
- l. 157. *scho sayd*, T. See l. 75, n.
- l. 158. Ca. again brings in the *eldryne tre*.
- l. 159. *gone* can hardly be original, as the pure Northern would be *gaa*. I suggest *wone* = dwell.

l. 160. *Medill-erthe*; A.S. *middan-eard*; Isl. *mid-gard*, the Earth, as the *middle region* of the Old Northern cosmogony.

l. 161—164. Ca. has a remarkable variation, bringing out more clearly that Thomas invokes not the lady, but the *Queene of Heuene, Mary mylde*.

l. 167. *by-teche, be-teche*; A.S. *be-tæcan*, to deliver, commit.

l. 169. *Eldone Hill*, on the Tweed, near Melrose; a mountain mass divided into three summits. See Introduction, p. xlix. Ca. again says *eldryne tre*, but the latter word is erased, and *hill* substituted.

l. 170. *derne*, secret. Ca. has *grenewode tre*, the last word obliterated, and *lee* substituted.

l. 171. Ca. had originally,

"It was derk as mydnyght myrke,"

as in Th., but this is altered to,

"Wher hit was derk as any hell."

The former would seem to be the correct reading, though it rhymes with itself, instead of l. 169, and the attempt to make it rhyme with the latter has caused the three different readings in Ca., Co., and L.

l. 173. *montenans*, amount; glossed *space* in Ca., mistaken in L.

l. 176. *fowte* in Ca. looks like *fewte*; *fawte* is correct; Fr. *faute*, failure, want.

l. 177. *herbere*, garden of herbs or trees, enclosed garden, *later* summer-house. The original word appears to have been the O.Fr. *herbier*, a herbary, in O.E. *herber*, *erber*; but to have been confounded with the O.E. *herberze*, *hereberwe*, *herborwe*, *herbor*, *herber*, A.S. *hereberge*, Icel. *herbergi*, O.H.G. *heriberga*, harbour, shelter, hospitium. "*Wo bist du zur Herberge*," John i. 38.—*Luther*. Then it has been misspelt in modern times *arbour* from its assumed connexion with *trees*. At Cavers, in Roxburghshire, there is a hill called the *Herber Law* or *Pleasure-garden Hill* (pronounced as in "to *herber* [harbour] thieves." The *Herbere* in the poem was clearly a garden of fruit trees. Note that *Orchard* (in South Sco. *Wurtshert*) now a *garden of fruit trees*, was originally also a *garden of herbs or vegetables*, *Wyrtyeard*.

l. 180. *damasee*, the Damascene, or Damson:

"þer weore growyng so grene

þe Date wip the Damesene."—*Pystil of Svete Susanne*.

"The plum is a native of Caucasus and Asia Minor. Cultivated varieties, according to Pliny, were brought from Syria into Greece, and thence into Italy. Such was, for instance, the *Damson* or *Damascene* Plum, which came from *Damascus* in Syria, and was very early cultivated by the Romans."—*Treasury of Botany*, p. 932.

l. 181. *wyneberye*, the grape; A.S. *win-berize*. *pynnene* in L. is perhaps adjective from *pine*, but *fre* is no doubt for *tre*.

l. 182. T. *nyghtgale*, A.S. *nihtegale*, night-singer, night-gladdener; the others have the inserted *n*, *nyghtyn-gale*, found in the South as early as Chaucer.

l. 183. *payeioys*; Ital. *papagallo*, i.e. Pope-cock; Sp. *papagay*; O.Fr. *papegay*, Russian *popagay*, a parrot or "popinjay;" Sc. *Papingo*.

l. 191. *or*, ere, before; "or ever they came at the bottom of the den," Dan. vi. 24. *Or* is still the regular Northern form of *ere*, *antequam*.

l. 193. *hyghte*, call, command, *past* used for *present*.

l. 199. *paye*, to pacify, please, satisfy, and hence pay; Lat. *pacare*; Ital. *pagare*; Fr. *payer*.

l. 201—216. The MSS. differ much in particulars, but, with exception of Co., all make four ways, which seem to be to heaven, purgatory, and hell, and (but coming first in the list) from purgatory to heaven, "whan synful sowlis haue duryd ther peyn."

l. 204. *rysse*, *ryce*, *rese*, *rise*; A.S. *hris*, twig, brushwood. Still in common use in N.

l. 209—212. Wanting in Co., and varies greatly in the others. *tene & traye*, pain and trouble; A.S. *tebna* and *tréga*. *drye*, Ca. endure; A.S. *dreógan*; Sc. *dree*.

l. 219. *it bearis the belle*, occupies the first rank, surpasses all, alluding to the leader of a flock or herd which has a bell round its neck.

l. 223. *me ware leuer*, impersonal, *mihi fuerit satius*, I had rather = I would rather have it.

l. 225. Here Ca. transposes two stanzas, but the order is obvious. The lady takes the most certain means of preventing Thomas from divulging secrets by binding him to answer no one but her.

l. 230. L. *thirty bolde barons and thre*: this jingling combination of numbers distinguishes the later prophecies, and modern-antique ballads, but is not found in the earlier.

l. 231. *desse*, *deyce*, the raised daïs (O.Fr. *deis*; Lat. *discus*) at top of the hall.

l. 235. *as white as whelys bone*, the ivory of the narwhal or walrus.

l. 237—252. These inquisitive demands of Thomas are only in L., but seem old.

l. 250. *hir raches couplede*, her hounds having been coupled again.

l. 261. Ca. here again transposes three stanzas.

l. 267. T. *bryttened*, cut up, broke down; A.S. *brytan*, to break; *brytnian*, to dispen-  
se; L. *brytlege*, scribal error for *bryttning*, as in Ca.; *wode*, mad.

l. 274. *parde*, per deum.

l. 276. *My lufly lady sayd to me*; so all the older MSS. L. alone changes it into 3rd person,

"To hym spake that ladye fre."

l. 277. *þe buse* = (it) behoves thee; past tense, *bud*, *byd*, behoved; he *byd* be a fule!

l. 286. *thre zere*; Ca. says *seven*, which is the traditional period.

l. 288. *skylle*, reason, cause, *as well as* the reasoning faculty.

l. 289. *to-morne*, still Northern English, "to-morn 't morn," to-morrow morning; Scotch *the morn*.

l. 290. *amange this folke will feche his fee*, refers to the common belief that the fairies "paid kane" to hell, by the sacrifice of one or more individuals to the devil every seventh year.

"Then wod I never tire, Janet,  
In Elfish land to dwell;  
But aye at every seven years  
They pay the teind to hell;  
And I'm sae fat and fair of flesh,  
I fear twill be my-sell."

"I'd paid my kane seven times to hell  
Ere you'd been won away."—*The Young Tamlane*.

l. 291. *hende*, gentle, also skilful.

l. 294. *hethyne*, hence; the scribes, with the exception of Co., misunderstand this Northern word, and write *heven*.

- l. 296. *I rede*, I counsel; A.S. *raedan*; Germ. *rathen*.  
 l. 200. *fowles singes*; see l. 1.  
 l. 301—304. This stanza, though in all, comes in very awkwardly, nor can I explain to what it refers.  
 l. 303. T. *Erlis*; Ca. *yrons*, an *erne's* or sea eagle's.  
 l. 306. *yon bentis browne*. L. distorts into *yowre brutes broume*.  
 l. 303—308. These lines are wanting in the Co. MS., which after l. 301-2 proceeds to l. 309-10, but this is first struck out, and then repeated after one blank line.

## FYTTE II.

The Sloane MS. begins here. For the first 70 lines, the MSS. closely agree, though L. omits numerous passages, as all that about the Baliols, l. 324—340.

l. 313. *carpe*, speak, or sing. Thomas has the choice of excelling in instrumental, or in vocal (rather *oral*) accomplishments; he prefers the latter, "for tonge is chefe of mynstralsie."

l. 314. *chose*, the choice; often so spelled in Scotch.

"in our Inglis rethorick the rose,

As of Rubeis the Charbunckle bene chose."—*Lyndesay, Papyngo*, 26.

l. 317. *spelle*, discourse; A.S. *spellian*; in Ca. corruptly *spill*; L. and S. gloss, *speke*.

l. 318. *lesynge*, lying, falsehood. *Lesynge thow sall neuer lee*; from this characteristic Erseldown derived the name of "True Thomas," generally given to him in the later prophecies and traditional rhymes.

l. 319. *frythe or fell*, enclosed field or open hill.

l. 324. *ferly*, a wonder, strange thing or event. Usually derived from A.S. *fērlīc*, sudden; *fēr*, fearful; but I think more truly both in form and meaning from A.S. *feorlīc*, *feorlen*, far away, foreign, strange. Compare *strange* from *extraneus*.

l. 327. *wyte*; A.S. *wit-an*, to depart, decease. Ca. has *dwyne*; A.S. *dwin-an*, to pine, dwindle away.

l. 329. T. *bayllyolfe* for *bayllyolse* or *bayllyolfs*; Co. *bali]oves*; S. misreads *baly of*; Ca. scribal error *folkys*; see before, l. 101, *balys* for *foly*. The Baliols' blood, the family of John Baliol, the rival of Robert Bruce for the Scottish crown, and his son Edward, rival of David Bruce.

l. 331—332. The *Comyns*, *Barclays*, *Russells*, and *Friseals*, or *Frasers*. *Semewes* in Ca. is a very simple misreading of *Comenes* in old writing, and the *Sea-mews* suggest the *teals*, *telys*, probably for *barclys*, with the *ar* contracted, of the original. The *Comyns* and *Frasers* were prominent, though on different sides, during the English War in the minority of David II. David Cumyn, the dispossessed Earl of Athol, was one of Edward Baliol's leaders, when the latter invaded Scotland in 1332, was appointed viceroy of Scotland by Edward III. in 1335, and soon after slain in the forest of Kilblane, by Sir Andrew Moray, when, according to Buchanan, "fortissimus quisque Cuminianorum aut in praelio aut in fuga caesus est." This is the battle for which Barbour quotes a prophecy of the Rhymer, ante, p. xvii. Walter Cumyn was also slain in the Battle of Annan, 1332, and his brother Thomas executed after the battle. Of the *Frasers*, Buchanan has, "*Fraser vel Frisel*, cog. in varias familias tributum in quibus eminet Lovetiae, Saltonii, & Fraseriae Reguli, cum suis quisque tribulibus."



Alexander Fraser was one of the commanders at Dupplin, 1332; James and Simon Fraser, after capturing Perth from Baliol, were slain at Halidon Hill, 1333. Of the Barclays: in 1345 David de Berklay waylaid and assassinated William Bullock, the able English ecclesiastic so intimately connected with the intrigues of the period. Sir Walter de Berklay was also concerned in the plot against Robert Bruce, and tried before the Black Parliament of 1320, and in 1322, according to Fordun's Annals, "on the 1st of October, Andrew Barclay was taken, and having been convicted of treachery, underwent capital punishment." The *Russels* I cannot trace; and the word may be a scribal error for some of the other names conspicuous in the history of the period—the *Rosseis*, for instance.

l. 333. *wyte, dwoyne*. See l. 327.

l. 335. *spraye*, to spread out, sprout out, like *spray* of water, or a *spray* of blossom; Platt-Deutsch *spreden, spreën*; G. *sprühen*, to sputter, flow forth.

l. 341—348. Thomas's inquiry is as to the issue of the doubtful contest between the Bruce and Baliol families, 1332—1355.

l. 341. *whatkyns*, of what kind; used adjectively, "what kind of" *qualis*.

l. 344. *thryue* and *thee* (A.S. *þéon*) are synonymous; S. changes to *vnthrive*.

l. 345. *none*; *tane* in l. 347 shows that the original had the Northern *nane*.

l. 352. Co. *halyndon hill*; L. *helydowne hill*; T. and L. *Eldone*; Ca. *ledyn* for *Eldyn*.

I think there is little doubt, though the two oldest MSS. say otherwise, that the Battle of Halidon Hill, 1333, is meant. "So great was the slaughter of the nobility, that, after the battle, it was currently said amongst the English that the Scottish wars were at last ended, since not a man was left of that nation who had either skill or power to assemble an army or direct its operations."—*Tytler*, quoting *Murimuth*, p. 81. But there may have been a legendary prophecy as to Eldone Hill, which was after the event changed to Halidown Hill, as "Spincarde Clough" was to Pinkie-cleuch.

l. 353—354. *Breton's—Bruyse blode*, the common terms in this Fytte for *English* and *Scotch*. The English claims to the superiority of Scotland were founded upon the Cynric version of the legend of the Trojan *Brutus*, from whom the name of Britain was "derived," who was said to have divided the realm, after he had conquered it from the giants, between his three sons, Locrinus, Cymber, and Albanactus, eponyms of English, Welsh, and Scotch, with the feudal supremacy to Locrinus. Thus adopting the *Brute*, *Breton*, or *British* legend, the English were the *Brutes* or *Bretons blode*. There was, of course, an alliterative antithesis between *Bretons* and *Bruces*; but in some of the MSS. the latter word might be either *Bruces* or *Brutes*, confounding the two opposites. I have printed *Bruces*, the word originally meant, though perhaps the scribes thought it *Brutes*.

l. 354. *spraye*; Gaelic *spreidh*, booty, prey. Gawain Douglas has *spreith, spreicht*.

l. 357. The foregoing passage refers to a cluster of events in the minority of David II., 1332—1345. They seem to have been written at that time. What follows to the end of the Fytte, and perhaps even to l. 520 in Fytte III., is a general sketch of battles and other events in Scotland from 1298 to 1400 or so, and was probably written about the latter date, when the poem took its present form. l. 357—364 refer to the battle of *Falkirk* (S. and L. do not understand the proper name); Ca. Co. and L. erroneously make the Scotch win.

l. 367—376. The lady wishes to go because her hounds are impatient. Thomas detains her, giving (in Ca. only) a reason.

l. 371. *god schilde*, Dieu defende ! God defend ! God forbid.

l. 375. *Ca. reyke*, roam, ramble.

*holtely* or ? *holteby* I cannot explain ; it is probably a proper name. *Holt* is of course a *wood*, but it is a word not now current in the North.

l. 377—388. The battle of Bannockburn, June, 1314 ; here all the MSS. agree that the *Brucys blode* shall win, though *Ca.* corrupts to *Brutys*, and *L.* to *Ebruy*s (!).

l. 379—380 seem to be the origin of the traditional prophecy attributed to Thomas (*ante*, p. xliv),

“ The burn of breid  
Sall rin fu’ reid.”

a *bannock* being a cake of (home made) bread.

l. 381—385 describe the well-known device of Bruce of defending his flank by pits dug, and concealed by hurdles and turf. *snapre L.* = stumble.

l. 389, 390. The death of Robert Bruce, leaving a son of 6 years old, so that Scotland kingless stood.

l. 391—412. The tercelet, or young falcon, is Edward Baliol, who now seeing his opportunity took with him *tercelettes grete & gay*, the dispossessed lords, Henry Percy, Lord Wake, Henry Beaumont, David Cumyn and others, and landed (l. 401) at Wester Kinghorn, 1332, where Alexander Seton, with a handful of followers, threw themselves upon them, but was overpowered and cut in pieces on the sands (l. 402). They then pushed on towards Perth, surprised the Scottish army at Duplin Moor, by the River Earn, which flows over the old red-sandstone (ll. 403—408), with great slaughter, and next day took Perth, the “town of great renown near the water of Tay.”

l. 400. *T. Royalle blode* ; *S. baly of blud*, corruptly for *Balyolues blode*, as in *Co.*

l. 414. *cheuede*, achieved.

l. 415. *bowne*, ready.

l. 416. *the werre of Fraunce*. Edward III., thinking Scotland reduced under Baliol, declared war against France in 1337, and in 1339 invaded that country.

l. 417—436. The text is here in great confusion, none of the MSS. apparently being complete. The event itself is also misplaced, as the coronation of David II. really occurred before Baliol’s invasion, and not now (1341) when he returned from his exile in France to reign. *Ca.* does not mend the matter by reading *Robert*, as the events which follow belong to David.

l. 427, 428 in *L.* refer to the special bull obtained from Rome for the anointing of David II.

l. 423. *More and myne*, greater and lesser.

l. 425. *skyme*, *T.*, error for *Skyne* = *Scone* or *Skune*.

l. 427. *beryns* = *bernys* ; *A.S. beorn*, chieftains, barons, nobles.

l. 429—448. David II.’s invasion of England in 1346, six years after his return from France, when he took Hexham (l. 431) ; was defeated at Beaufort, close to Durham (l. 433, 434) ; and himself, after being grievously wounded (l. 440), taken prisoner (l. 444), and led to London (l. 447).

l. 430. *lygges*, lies (*A.S. licgan*) ; the Northern form still well-known.

l. 437. *taggud*, *tagged*, confined, encumbered, for *tane* of *T.*, *Ca.* has *teyryd*, ? for *teþryd*, *tethered*.

l. 439. *nebbe*, nose ; *A.S. nyb*.

l. 441, 442. *fode*, a brood. The *fals fode*, who betray the king, points to the High

Steward, and the Earl of March, who escaped with their division from the field, and were blamed for not adequately supporting David.

l. 448. *the goshauwe fynd his Make*, David II. find his *mate* or consort, Joanna, sister of Edward III.

l. 453—456 I cannot explain, unless they refer to the slaughter in Ettrick Forest of the Knight of Liddesdale, who had been gained over to the English interest by Edward.

l. 457—460 describe the great exertions made in Scotland to raise the enormous sum of the king's ransom (equal to £1,200,000 of modern money); for *fulle and fere* I suggest *felle and flese*, or *Wolle and fell*, *full many ane*. The money was principally raised by granting to the king all the wool and wool-fells in the kingdom at a low rate, to be exported and sold at a profit abroad.

l. 464. *bygge & browke the tre*, apparently to *build* (their nests) and *use* or enjoy the tree.

l. 467. Robert II., the first of the Stewarts, ascended the throne 26 March, 1371.

l. 469—484. The *Cheuanteyne* or *Cheftan* is the Earl of Douglas (l. 480), who invaded England 1388, burned and plundered, especially in the bishopric of Durham (l. 473-4), rode to Newcastle, and challenged Hotspur (l. 475-6), and was by him overtaken and slain at Otterbourne, in a marsh by the Reed (l. 477—480). Hotspur was taken prisoner (l. 481) and led to Scotland.

l. 479. *in fere*, together, in company (A.S. *gefera*).

l. 480. *Co. doglas*, i. e. Douglas; misunderstood, and variously corrupted in the others.

l. 486. The original seems to have been as in l. 306, *Me by-houis ower yone bentis browne*, variously corrupted in L. and S.

### FYTTE III.

The first stanza, wanting in Ca. and S., differs greatly in the others.

l. 489. *gente*, handsome, elegant; *hende*, see l. 291.

l. 492. *worthe*, become, A.S. *weorðan*.

l. 494. *wandrethe*, trouble, sorrow. Isl. *vandræði*; *woghe*, A.S. *woh*, injustice, wrong; *wankill*, A.S. *wancol*, unstable, shaky.

l. 496. *spynkarde cloughe, slough, spynar hill*; I can find no trace of this locality, and do not know if it refers to any actual event (unless it be the skirmish between Sir John Gordon and Lilburn "in a mountain pass" on the border, in 1378); but it was quoted in the later prophecies as *Pinken* or *Pinkie cleuch*.

l. 505—512 perhaps refer to the invasion of Scotland and siege of Edinburgh by Henry IV. in 1400, although it more recalls that of Richard II. in 1385.

l. 509. *T. Sembery* is a curious error for *Edinbery*, but very simply made in the MS.

l. 513—516, a repetition of l. 409—412 in the preceding Fytte.

l. 521. From this point the prophecies are not historical; they constitute a series of legendary predictions. They are principally occupied by three battles, that between Seton and the Sea, and those of Gladsmoor and Sandysford, and the career of "the Bastard out of the west," which I take to be a distorted Arthurian legend. These four ideas fill all the later prophecies, Scottish and English alike, of the battles. Dr Robert Chambers says:—"It is broadly notable throughout the history of early prophecy in

Scotland, how strongly the notion was impressed that there was to be a great and bloody conflict near Seton; or at the adjacent Gladsmuir, both in East Lothian [about 7 miles E. of Edinburgh]. There had existed, before the battle of Pinkie (1547), a prophetic rhyme:

Between Seton and the sea,  
Mony a man shall die that day.

And we know that the rhyme and the day were so from the following passage in Patten's *Account of the Expedition of the Duke of Somerset*, printed in 1548: 'This battell and feld [Pinkie] the Scottes and we are not yet agreed how it shall be named. We cal it Muskelborough felde, because that is the best towne (and yet bad enough) nigh to the place of our meeting. Sum of them cal it Seton felde (a town thear nigh too), by means of a blind prophecy of theirs, which is this or sum such toye: Betwene Seton and the seye, many a man shall dye that day.' The same rhyme is incorporated in the long irregular and mystical poems which were published as the prophecies of Thomas in 1615. We humbly think that our countrymen strained a point to make out the battle of Pinkie as the fulfilment of a conflict at Seton, which is four or five miles distant; not to speak of the preciseness of the prophecy in indicating *between Seton and the sea*.

"That there should be a great and bloody fight at Gladsmuir appears in the old Scotch prophecies. A traditionary one, attributed as usual to 'True Thomas,' bare reference to the fate of Foveran Castle in Aberdeenshire, long ago the seat of a family named Turing:

'When Turing's Tower falls to the land,  
Gladsmuir then is nigh at hand:  
When Turing's Tower falls to the sea,  
Gladsmuir the next year shall be.'

A local writer about 1720 (*View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, Spalding Club*) gives this rhyme, and adds: 'It seems that Gladsmuir is to be a very decisive battle for Scotland; but if one fancy the place of it to be Gladsmuir on the coast of East Lothian, he will find himself mistaken; for

'It shall not be Gladsmoor by the sea,  
But Gladsmoor wherever it be.'

[See before, p. xxxv; also the English Prophecy in Appendix II. l. 80.] That is, the number of corpses will make it a resort of birds of prey, and so a *Gled's muir*.

"When the battle of Prestonpans took place in 1745, the victorious Highlanders were for calling it 'Gladsmuir,' in reference to the old prophecy [see before, p. xli, xlii]; but in truth, the scene of conflict was nearly as far from Gladsmuir as Pinkie was from Seton. It must be admitted to have been near to Seton, though not strictly *betwixt Seton and the Sea*."—*Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 218.

The "Whole Prophecies of Scotland, &c.," 1603, already discussed (p. xxx), are full of references to these battles. But they were equally famous in England, as is shown by the prose prophecy of 1529, quoted in Appendix II. from the Sloane MS., and many other references in the same volume. At an earlier date, the Battle of Barnet, doubtless on account of the enormous carnage by which it was distinguished, as well as its decisive effect on the Wars between York and Lancaster, was called by contemporaries the Battle of Gladsmoor. In the following quotation from Holinshed, the name occurs as belonging to the site, but I suspect it was an *ex post facto* one: "Hervpon remouved

they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaie betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmore heath, on the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle pight his campe."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 684.

Compare Dravton, *Polyolbion*, Song xxii (Chalmers's English Poets, vol. iv. p. 345):—

"the armies forward make,  
And meeting on the plain to Barnet very near,  
That to this very day is called Gladmore there."

As to *Sandyford*, I can offer no conjecture, even of the place hinted at; but the battle at Sandyford is equally prominent in the other Scottish and English prophecies, as in the following, culled from the Sloane MS. already quoted:—

"Ouer Sandiford shalbe sorowes sene on the southe side on a mondaye, wheare gromes shall grone on a grene, besides englefield yere standethe a Castelle on a mountaine Clif the which shall doo *yair* enemyes tene, & save england yat day./ (leaf 41 a.)

"At Sandiford betwix ij parkes a pallace & a parishe church, a hardy prince downe shall lyghte. troye vntrue yen shall tremble & quake yat daye for feare of a deade man when yei heare him speake. all thoffyceris yerin shall caste him the keyes, from vxbridge to hownslowe y<sup>e</sup> bushment to breake, and fare as a people that weare wudd. the ffather shall sleye y<sup>e</sup> sone y<sup>e</sup> brother y<sup>e</sup> brother, y<sup>t</sup> all London shall renn bludde." (leaf 44 b.)

l. 541—544. A vivid picture of the desolation to be produced; this seems the origin of one of the traditional sayings of Thomas quoted on p. xlv:

"A horse sal gang on Carolside brae,  
Till the red girth gaw his side in twae."

*Carolside*, properly *Crawhillside*, lies on the bank of the Leader about a mile above Earlstoun.

l. 549. T. omits *baners*. This line and the next in Ca. have been overwritten so as to make the original words irrecoverable. The words *eneglych shal rone away* have thus been inserted, probably for *nyght shal dee*.

l. 553. *trewe*, the correct singular; of which *trewis*, *trewes*, *truce* is properly the plural. Fr. *trève*, *trèves*.

l. 555. *dere*, A.S. *derian*, to hurt, harm.

l. 557. *betwene twa sainte Marye dayes*. The same date is given to Gladsmoor in the English prose prophecy in Appendix III.

l. 560. S. *claydon moore*, above this in the MS. *donnes more* is written, referring perhaps to Dunse Moor, and the "Warden Raid" of 1378.

Ca. *gleydes more*, the moor of the *gleydes* or kites; but in the next stanza in Ca. only, and evidently an afterthought, the word is played on as *glads-moor*. This stanza is quoted in the prophecy of Bertlington, ante, p. xxxvi, and in many other prophecies, Scotch and English.

l. 565—576. See as to the Crow and the Raven, Introduction, p. xxxii, &c.

l. 576. *wayloway*, A.S. *wá lá wá*, wo! O wo!

l. 577—604. In T. only (where also l. 592—604 are lost) contain a list of the lords described by their armorial bearings, by which they might no doubt still be identified. "The publication of predictions, either printed or hieroglyphical, in which noble

families were pointed out by their armorial bearings, was, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, extremely common; and the influence of such predictions on the minds of the common people was so great as to occasion a prohibition, by statute, of prophecy by reference to heraldic emblems. Lord Henry Howard also directs against this practice much of the reasoning in his learned treatise, entitled 'A Defensation against the Poyson of Pretended prophecies.'—Scott, *Border Minstrelsy*.

l. 619. *bourne*, ready, prepared.

l. 621—644. In great confusion in the MSS. Ca. seems to transpose two stanzas, putting the death of the bastard before Sandryford, while the others put it last, and make it the cause of the lady's emotion. S. agrees with Co. and L. so far as these are entire, in the order of the stanzas, but as elsewhere mixes up their lines greatly.

l. 625. *braye*, T. had probably *braa*, a brae, or steep incline. Ca. corruptly *wroo*.

l. 633. *Remnerdes*, what this word is corrupted for cannot be ascertained through the defects in the other MSS.

l. 635. *dyng*e, Isl. *dænga*, Sw. *dänga*, to knock, push violently, drive.

l. 640. *bod-word*, message.

l. 644. *that mycull may*, who hast great might.

l. 651. *ladys shall wed laddys zong*; compare the Harleian prophecy, addressed to the Countess of March, "When laddes weddeth lovedies," and Waldhaue's quotation of Thomas's prophecy, ante, p. xxxix.

l. 660. S. *annes*, perhaps rather *aunes*. *Blak Agnes of Donbar*, the heroic daughter of Earl Thomas Randolph, and wife of Patrick Earl of March, so famed for her defence of the Castle of Dunbar, which, in absence of her husband, she held for five months (1338) against the assault of an English army, led by the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, and at last obliged them to raise the siege. Her husband's career was marked by much oscillation between Scotland and England, and his son finally took the English side, which may account for the hostility to the family here displayed. Thomas of Erceildowne lived a whole generation earlier than Black Agnes, and it is probable that traditions of his relation with an earlier Countess of March, who was "sothely lady at arsyldone" (see *Introd.*, p. xi, xiv), were transferred to her more famous successor.

l. 661—664 differ much in Ca. and Co. The latter is doubtless the original.

l. 664. *ploes*, Ca. looks as like *plees* or *ploes*. l. 666. *the*, thrive, flourish.

l. 672. *magrat*, O.Fr. *malgrat*, *maugret*, in spite of.

The conclusion, l. 673—700, differs a good deal in the four MSS. which possess it. Co. being fullest, T. next, and perhaps had all the original text. S. is roughly curtailed.

l. 695. *Helmesdale* in Sutherland, in the far north, whence fairies and witches were believed to come.

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#### APPENDIXES I. AND II.

It is not very easy to define the relations between these two compositions, which have about 70 lines in common at the beginning, but are otherwise entirely different. Apparently, the original nucleus consisted of a prophecy referring to the Wars of the ERCEILDOUN.

Roses, and the Battle of Glad-moor, seemingly identified with Barnet. This seems to be preserved in lines 1—44, and 73—180 of the English prophecy. Afterwards this composition was extended to embrace the early fortunes of the House of Tudor, and the Battle of Flodden, and probably at this time, 1515—1525, the episode of the English and Scottish knight, l. 45—72, which comes in very awkwardly, was introduced, as well as the later part of the poem. The compiler of the Scottish prophecy then borrowed this introduction as far as line 72, and made it the commencement of a different account of the Battle of Flodden suited to Scottish needs, and alluding, l. 119, to the idea long cherished that James IV. did not die in the battle. Apparently, after the Battle of Pinkie, 1547, and perhaps about the time of the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, 1558, this was rewritten with interpolations referring to these events—lines 193 and 194 being cleverly adapted from l. 496 of the Romance of Thomas, and lines 239—244 from “the Prophecy of Bertlington:” see ante, p. xxxvi. The copy printed in 1603, and here followed, is much modernized, and bears traces in every line of the original having been pure northern. Thus in l. 65, *gone* must have been *went*; l. 69, *said* for *saw*; l. 71, *two* for *twa*; l. 79, *so* for *sua*, rhyming with *ta* = *take*; l. 114—121, the rhyme breaks down, and the text is in confusion; l. 139, *two* for *twa*, rhyming with *na ma*, changed into *no more* in l. 141; l. 146, *hurte and woe* for *trouble and tene*, rhyming with *shene*; l. 163 is corrupt; l. 171, *blew* for *bla*, rhyming with *sla* in l. 173, and in l. 178, 180, *blew, two*, for *bla, twa*; l. 182, 184, *goe, slay* for *ga, sla*; l. 224, *stone* for *stane*. Many lines and pairs of lines are also lost at various places. Perhaps one day an older and more perfect copy may be found.

APPENDIX II. I have ventured to apply to this a title recorded by Sir David Lyndesay, about 1528 (*The Dreme*, l. 43), which agrees also with the rubric at end of the MS. It is found in the Lansdowne MS. of 1529, which supplies one of the texts of the Romance of Thomas, and in the Rawlinson MS. C. 813, of a later date. The Lansdowne is evidently a copy by a southern scribe of an older northern text, the true readings of which he has often mistaken and made into nonsense. Still more frequently the rhyme has been injured in the transliteration, as in lines 229—236, where the rhyming words *blowe, lee*; *knowe, swaye*; *fall, hie*; *call, dye*, represent an original *blaw, le*; *knaw, swe*; *fa', he*; *ca', de*. The Rawlinson copy is still more modernized, and as a whole weaker, but it contains fewer absolute blunders, and so often enables us to restore the sense of the original. Only the more important of its variations are here given as notes to the Lansdowne text; but occasionally where the latter is very corrupt, it is relegated to the notes (there marked L.), and the Rawl. reading placed in the text. Words, &c., added from R. in the text are in brackets.

The last historical event recorded in it is the Battle of Flodden, or rather the capture of Tournay by Henry VIII. a few days later. Its date is no doubt shortly after this, and nearer to 1515 than 1525. England is of course still faithful to Rome, and the pope occupies a prominent place in the concluding events; but in the Rawlinson copy, curiously enough, the word “pope,” wherever it occurs, is struck out by a line drawn across it, a witness to the feelings of a later date.

Besides the ascription at the end, the authorities for the different sections of the prophecy are cited at l. 135, as “saint Bede;” l. 291, “bredlynton;” l. 292, “bede;” l. 294, “Arseldowne;” l. 346, “Arsalldoune;” l. 380, “Merlyon;” l. 409, “Marlyon;” l. 444, “Arse[l]downe;” l. 445, “the holly man that men calles Bede.” Opposite some of these the name is repeated in larger letters in the margin; thus, opposite

to l. 346, *Arysdon*; opp. l. 380, *Merlyon*; opp. l. 409, *Marlyon*; opp. lines 428 and 445, *Bede*.

l. 15, 16. Comp. l. 195, 196 of *Thomas*.

l. 21, &c. Comp. the description of the lady in l. 41 of *Thomas*.

l. 45—72. An interpolation dislocating the natural sequence between the l. 44 and 73. The two knights, St George and St Andrew, of course symbolize England and Scotland.

l. 60 *bis*, a superfluous line, interpolated as if the first of next stanza. Allowed for in R. by omitting l. 72; but of course the proper one to omit was l. 68.

l. 68. Note the Anglo-Saxon and Danish '*burgh* and *by*.'

l. 70. *wrong heyres*. e. g. Henry IV., Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII.

l. 72. The sling at the Scots here and in line 183 indicates an English author.

l. 73 naturally follows 44. The Lady having consecrated the ground, now declares that it will be the site of the battle of *Gladmoor* (? Barnet), and vanishes. The writer applies to the "lytell man" to give him more distinct information about Gladmoor; the latter predicts the dissension (between the Nevilles and Woodvilles); the son fighting against the father (Clarence and Warwick); falsehood and envy (the House of York) reigning in England for 33 years. (The Duke of York took up arms in 1452, and the Battle of Bosworth was in 1485.) A king reigning without righteousness (Edward IV.); then a break when "he that hath England hent (Warwick) shall be made full lowe to light." Two princes have their deaths with treason dight; then when all expect peace, the landing of Henry VII. and Battle of Bosworth. Henry is crowned, and known as the "king of covatyce." "The fourth leaf of the tree (the house of York) dies, that lost hath bowes moo"—almost all the descendants of Edward III. are extinct; traitors taste the Tower (Warwick and ? Richard, Duke of York, nicknamed by the Tudors, Perkin Warbeck), and Henry VII. dies.

l. 77. gladismore that shall glad vs all,  
yt shalbe gladyng of oure glee;

identical with lines 561-2 of *Thomas*.

l. 79. yt shalbe gladmore wher euer yt fall,  
but not gladmore by the see.

Also in the prophecy of Bertlington, p. xxxv; and see *Notes* to l. 521 of *Thomas*.

l. 181—284 describe the Battle of Flodden, naming the localities of Millfield, Branxton, and Flodden itself. The "red lion" is of course James IV.; the "white lyon," Sir Edmund Howard; and the "Admyrall," Thomas Howard, who commanded the English right. The MS. (Lansd. 762) contains, on leaf 70, a contemporary explanation of the emblems under which various persons are designated in the prophecies. They include the following:—

The mowlle the Erle of Westmerlonde.  
The wolffe the lorde Martyne.  
The mone the Erle of Northumberlonde.  
The Blew bore Erle of Oxforde.  
The Red dragoun barne of Clyfforde.

The white Lyoun Duke of Norffolk.  
The Crepawde Rex Frauncie.  
The Red Lyoun Rex Scotorum.  
The Lylve the Duke of Lancaster.  
Pye, Lorde Ryvers.

The Scots are referred to in l. 250 and 298 as "*Albenactes blode*," from the legendary Albanactus, son of Brutus, eponymus of the *Albannaich* or Scottish Celts.

l. 285. "*The prynce that is beyonde the flode*" (Henry VIII. now in France) takes two towns (Terouanne and Tournay).



l. 296. An allusion to True Thomas's absence from earth, which the later tradition extends to seven years. See *Thomas*, l. 286, Cambridge Text.

l. 297. The passage commencing here may originally have referred to the arrival in Scotland of the Duke of Albany, already mentioned more than once; but at this point the "prophecy" ceases to be historical.

l. 305. *stanis more*, this battle figures also in the prose prophecy in Appendix III.

l. 317. "*A king*" or "*duke of Denmark*," and "*the black fleet of Norway*," shew that even now, five hundred years after their invasions had come to an end, the name of the Danes and Norseman was still mentioned in terror.

l. 341. *sondysfurth*, on the south side, and l. 371, "*beside a well there is a stronde*," compare the prophecy of Merlyne, p. xxxiii, and the prose prophecy in Appendix III.; see also l. 624—632 of *Thomas*, and *Notes* to l. 521 of the Romance.

l. 373. *Snapeys-more* is referred to also in the prose prophecy, Appendix III.

l. 385—388. *Gladmore* and its doubtful issue; see in *Thomas*, l. 549—560.

l. 405—408. The "*okes thre*" and the "*headless cross of stone*," compare *Thomas*, l. 569—578, and l. 629, 630. See also various similar passages in "the Whole Prophecies of Scotland."

l. 543. "*In the vale of Josephate shall he dye*." So in the end of the "koke of the north" prophecy, edited by Mr Lunby; see ante, p. xxxii, and *Thomas*, l. 641, "The bastarde shall dye in the holy land."

l. 609. *he sayd*, "*a long time thou holdest me here*;" compare the lady's repeated remonstrances in *Thomas*.

l. 627. *when he thynketh tyme to talle*. Query *too tall*, i. e. *too long*; or error for *to calle*.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION.

EARLSTOUN CHURCH AND RYMOUR'S STONE.—In part correction of the note to p. xiii Mrs C. Wood of Galashiels, a native of Earlstoun, writes:—"The present church was renewed in 1736, but there are many stones in the churchyard as old as 1600, and the bell, which was cast in Holland, bears the date of 1609. The older building stood a few yards further forward, more to the south. Chambers, in his 'Picture of Scotland,' says that the inscription on the stone built into the wall of Earlstoun Church was defaced by a person named Waterstone, who considered it interfered with his right of property to the burial-place. I believe that this is quite correct, and also that the characters of the former inscription were very ancient. In a plan I have of the churchyard, made in 1842, there are 16 graves belonging to 'Lermonts,' 11 of which lie in a row, and the first of these has the date 1564. But none of the Learmont graves are near the church; in fact, there is only one gravestone in the vicinity of the Rhymer's Stone, and this belongs to the Waterstones." This disposes of any inference in favour of Rymour's name having been Learmont.

HAIG OF BEMERSIDE, p. xliii.—In the account of the family of Haig, written by the Earl of Buchan, we find: "Zerubabel Haig, 17th Baron of Bemerside, who married Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of Thomas Gordon, Esq., Clerk to the Court of Justiciary,

by whom he had one son and twelve daughters. . . . . This Zerubabel Haig died in 1752." This was the gentleman referred to by Sir Walter Scott.

RHYMER'S THORN, p. xlix.—Mr James Wood, Galashiels, says, "Rhymer's Thorn stood in a garden belonging to the Black Bull Inn, occupied by a man named Thin. It was a large tree, and sending out its roots in all directions, it absorbed much of the growing power of the soil. Thin set his son to cut the roots all round, and clear the garden of them. This was in the spring of 1814, and the Thorn which had defied the blasts of probably 900 years, now shorn of its roots, succumbed shortly after to a violent westerly gale. It was immediately replanted, with several cart loads of manure dug in round about it; but, notwithstanding all the efforts of the people to keep it alive, it never took root again. In 1830 the ground on which it stood came into the possession of the late John Spence, writer, Earlstoun, who built a high wall round the garden, leaving a square opening near the top to mark the site of the tree.

"The Thorn is described by John Shiel, a native of Earlstoun, 12 years old when the tree was blown down, and now 73, as 'the grandest tree ever I saw; it was a big tree, wi' a trunk as thick as a man's waist, an' its branches were a perfect circle, an' sae round i' the tap! I' the spring it was a solid sheet o' white flourishin', scentin' the whole toon end, an' its haws—there was na the like o' them in a' Scotland! they were the biggest haws ever I saw in my life; ay, I've been up the tree scores o' times pu'ing them when I was a laddie.'

"Rhymer's Thorn must have been an object of the utmost veneration to the people of Earlstoun, as they believed their prosperity to be bound up in its existence; and on the day it was blown down, a great many people ran with bottles of Wine and Whisky, and threw their contents on it, so as, if possible, to preserve it alive. It was always said that the Rhymer prophesied that Earlstoun should prosper so long as the Thorn stood; and it was a remarkable coincidence that the year it was blown down all the merchants in Earlstoun 'broke.'"

THOMAS'S DISAPPEARANCE, p. l.—"The late Mr Whale, who was a great repository of the traditions of Earlstoun, said, that the Public House, at the door of which the Rhymer sat when the white hind went through the village, stood in the Close, behind the present Reading-Room. There is, however, another tradition known in Earlstoun connected with the sudden disappearance of Thomas. It is said, that on the night when he so mysteriously disappeared, he had attended a banquet given by the Earl of March at his Castle in Earl's Town, and on his way home to the Tower was waylaid and murdered, either by some of the neighbouring barons, or by agents of the Earl of March, to whom he was an object of fear and dislike, in consequence of his close and intimate friendship with Sir William Wallace. The road between Earl's Town and Ersildoun passed in those days to the south of the present road, and a large two-handed sword, which was dug up a good many years ago in the garden (through which the old road is said to have crossed) of the late Mr George Noble, was purchased lately by a descendant of the Earlstoun Learmonts, on account of its supposed connection with this tradition."—C. W.

"This 'sword of Thomas the Rhymer' was a huge two-handed sword, in pretty good preservation. From the form of handle, it may have possibly been of the 12th or 13th century."—A. C.

## THE OLD HARLEIAN PROPHECY, p. xviii.

I DID not think of insulting the reader by a translation of this, but as I have been asked more than once "what does it mean?" here it is:—

The Countess of Dunbar asked Thomas of Erceldoune when the Scottish war should have an end, and he answered her and said:

When people have (*man has*) made a king of a capped man;  
 When another man's thing is dearer to one than his own;  
 When Loudyon [or *London?*] is Forest, and Forest is field;  
 When hares litter on the hearth-stone;  
 When Wit and Will war together;  
 When people make stables of churches, and set castles with styes.  
 When Roxburgh is no burgh, and market is at Forwylee;  
 When the old is gone and the new is come that is worth [or *do*] nought;  
 When Bannockburn is dunged with dead men;  
 When people lead men in ropes to buy and to sell;  
 When a quarter of 'indifferent' wheat is exchanged for a colt of 10 merks;  
 When pride rides on horseback, and peace is put in prison;  
 When a Scot cannot hide like a hare in form that the English shall not find him;  
 When right and wrong assent together;  
 When *lads* marry *ladies*; <sup>1</sup>  
 When Scots flee so fast, that for want of ships, they drown themselves.  
 When shall this be? Neither in thy time nor in mine;  
 But [shall] come and go within twenty winters and one.

<sup>1</sup> In the 14th, of course, and not the 19th century meaning of these words, when the "lads" in a shop may wed the "ladies" behind the counter, without any disparity. But *lads* have "looked up," and *ladies* gone, well-a-day! a long way down, since Thomas's time; although in old-fashioned country districts the farm-servants are still "the lads," and the daughters of the baron "the leddies."

One might suppose that Shakspeare had these lines in view, where he makes the Fool in *Lea*r (Act III. Scene ii.) parody these species of composition:

<p>"He speake a Prophecie ere I go:          When Priests are more in word, then matter;          When Brewers marre their malt with water;          When Nobles are their Taylors Tutors          No Heretiques burn'd, but wenches Sutors;          When euery Case in Law, is right;          No Squire in debt, nor no poore Knight;          When slanders do not liue in Tongues;          Nor Cut-purses come not to throngs;</p>	<p>When Vsurers tell their Gold i' th' Field;          And Baudes, and whores, do churches build;          Then shal the Realme of <i>Albion</i>,          Come to great confusion;          Then comes the time, who liues to see 't          That going shalbe vs'd with feet.          This prophecie <i>Mertin</i> shall make, for I liue          before his time."</p>
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## Tomas Off Erseldoune.

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[Thornton MS. leaf 149, back, col. 1.]

**L**ystyns, lordyngs, bothe grete & smale,  
 And takis gude tente what j wiil saye :  
 I saH 3ow telle als trewe a tale,  
 Als euer was herde by nyghte or daye : 4  
 And þe maste merueHe ffor owttyne naye,  
 That euer was herde by-fore or syene,  
 And þer-fore pristly j 3ow praye,  
 That 3e wiil of 3oure talkyng blyne. 8  
 It es an harde thyng for to saye,  
 Of doghety dedis þat hase bene done ;  
 Of feHe feghtyngs & bateHs sere ;  
 And how þat þir knyghtis hase wonne pair schone. 12  
 Bot jhesu crist þat syttis in trone,  
 Safe ynglysche mene bothe ferre & nere ;  
 And j saH telle 3ow tyte and sone,  
 Of BateHs donne sythene many a 3ere ; 16  
 And of bateHs þat done saH bee ;  
 In whate place, and howe, and whare ;  
 And wha saH hafe þe heghere gree,  
 And whethir partye saH hafe þe werre ; 20  
 Wha saH takk þe flyghte and flee,  
 And wha saH dye and by-leue thare :  
 Bot jhesu crist, þat dyed on tre,  
 Saue ynglysche mene whare-so þay fare. 24

[Thornton, continued.]

[Cotton, Vitell. E. x. leaf 240, back.];

[FYTTE THE FIRSTE.]

<sup>1</sup>Incipit prophecia Thome Arseldon[<sup>1</sup> col. 1]

**A**ls j me wente pis Endres daye,  
ffuH faste in mynd makand my  
mone,

In a mery mornynge of Maye,  
By huntle bankkes my selfe allone, 28  
I herde þe jaye, & þe throstyH cokke,  
The Mawys menyde hir of hir songe,  
þe wodwale beryde als a beHe,  
That aHe þe wode a-bowte me ronge. 32  
Allonne in longynge thus als j laye,  
Vndyre-nethe a semely tree,  
. . . . . j whare a lady gaye  
. . . . . ouer a longe lee. 36  
If j solde sytt to domesdaye, [col. 2]  
With my tonge, to wrobbe and wrye,  
Certanely þat lady gaye,  
Neuer bese scho askryede for mee. 40  
Hir palfraye was a dappiH graye,

**I**n a lande as I was lent,  
In þe grykyng of þe day,  
  
Me a lone as I went,  
In huntle bankys me for to play.  
I sawe þ<sup>e</sup> throstyl & þe Iay;  
þe mawes movyde of hyr songe;  
þe wodwale sange notes gay,  
þat all þe wod a boutte range.  
In þat longynge as I lay,  
vndir nethe a dern tre,  
I was war of a lady gay,  
Come rydyng ouyr a fayre le.  
30gh I sulde sitt to domysday,  
With my tonge to wrabbe & wry,  
Sertenly, all hyr aray,  
It beth neuer discryuyd for me.  
hyr palfra was dappyll gray,

Swylke one ne saghe j neuer none;  
Als dose þe sonne on someres daye,  
þat faire lady hir selfe scho schone. 48  
Hir selHe it was of roeHe bone,  
ffuH semely was þat syghte to see!  
Steffly sett with precyous stones,  
And compaste aH with crapotee, 52  
Stones of Oryente, grete plenta;  
Hir hare abowte hir hede it hange;  
Scho rade ouer þat lange lee; 55  
A whylle scho blewe, a-noþer scho sange.

THORNTON

Syche on say I neuer none;  
. . . als son in somers day,  
All abowte þat lady schone.  
hyr sadyl was of a jewel bone,  
A semely syzt it was to se;  
. [w]roght with mony a precyouse stone,  
And compasyd all with crapote.  
Stones of [?]oart gret plente;  
. . . . . a boutte hyr hede it hang;  
. . . . . þe fair le  
. . . . . shee blewe anoþer she sange.

COTTON

[Lansdowne 762, leaf 24.]

[Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ff., leaf 119.]

## [FOOTT THE FIRST.]

## [FYTTE THE FIRSTE.]

As I me went this thender day,  
So styll makyng my Mone,

As I me went þis Andyr's day,  
fiast on my way makyng my mone,

In a Mery Mornyng of May,  
In huntly bankes My self alone, 28  
I harde the Meryll and the Iay,  
the Maner Menede of hir song,  
the wylde wode-wale song notes gay, 31  
that alle the shawys abowte hem Rong.

In a mery mornyng of may,  
Be huntley bankis my self alone,  
I herde þe iay, & þe throstell,  
þe mavys menynd in hir song,  
þe wodewale farde as a bell.  
þat þe wode aboute me rong.

¶ But in a lonynge, as I lay,  
Vnder neth a semely tre,  
I saw where a lady gay  
Cam rydyng ouer a louely le. 36  
thowh that I leue styll tyll domys day,  
with any my tonge to worble or were,  
The certayn sothe of hir Array  
May neuer be descreued for me. 40

Alle in a longyng, as I lay,  
Vndurneth a cumly tre,  
Saw I wher a lady gay  
Came ridand ouer a louely le.  
3if I shuld sitte till domusday,  
Alle with my tong to know & se,  
Sertenly, alle hur aray,  
Shalle hit neuer be scryed for me.  
Hir palfrey was of dappull gray,

¶ Hir palfray was of daply gray,  
The farest Molde that any myght be;  
here sadell bryght as any day. [leaf 24, bk]  
Set with pereles to þe kne. 44

Sike on se I neuer non;  
As dose þe sune on somers day,  
þe cumly lady hir selfe schone.  
hir sadill was of reuyll bone,  
Semely was þat sight to se!  
Stifly sette with precious ston,  
Compaste aboute with crapote,  
Stonys of oryons, gret plente;  
hir here aboute hir hed hit hong  
She rode out ouer þat louely le  
A while she blew, a while she song;

And furthermore of hir Aray,  
Diuers clothing she had vpon;  
And as the sonne in somerys day,  
Forsouthe the ladye here sylffe shone. 48

¶ here sege was of ryall bone,  
Syche one sau I neuer with ye!  
Set with many A precious stone,  
And cumpasyde all with crapote. 52  
With stonys of oryoles, grete plenty;  
Dyamondes thicke aboute hir honge;  
She bare a horne of gold semely,  
And vnder hir gyrdell a flone. 56



4 THOMAS TAKES HER FOR THE QUEEN OF HEAVEN, AND RUNS TO MEET HER. [FYTTE I.]

Hir garthes of nobyH sylke þay were,  
The bukyHs were of BereHe stone, 58  
Hir steraps were of crystaHe clere,  
And aH with pereHe ouer-by-gone. 60  
Hir payetrelle was of jrale fyne,  
Hir cropoure was of Orpharë;  
And als clere golde hir brydiH it schone,  
One aythir syde hange bellys three. 64

[ . . . . . no break in the MS.]

And seuene raches by hir þay rone;  
Scho bare an horne abowte hir halse,  
And vndir hir belte fuH many a flone. 72  
Thomas laye & sawe þat syghte,  
Vndir-nethe ane semly tree;  
He sayd, 'þone es marye moste of myghte,  
þat bare þat childe þat dyede for mee. 76  
Bot if j speke with þone lady bryghte,  
I hope myne herte wiH bryste in three!  
Now saH j go with aH my myghte,  
Hir for to mete at Eldoune tree.' 80  
Thomas rathely vpe he rase, [leaf 150]  
'And he rane ouer þat Mountayne hye;  
Gyff it be als the storye sayes,  
He hir mette at Eldone tree. 84  
He knelyde downe appone his knee,  
Vndir-nethe þat grenwode spraye;  
And sayd, 'lufly ladye! rewe one mee,  
Qwene of heuene als þou wele maye!' 88  
Than spake þat lady Milde of thoghte,  
'Thomas! late swylke wordes bee;  
Qwene of heuene ne am j noghte,  
fior j tuke neuer so heghe degre. 92

THORNTON

. . . . . er of cristall cler,  
. . . . . war þay sett;  
Sadyll & brydil wer a . . . . . [col. 2]  
with sylk & sendell fy . . . .  
hyr paytrel was of y . . . . .  
And hir croper of yra . . . .  
hyr brydil was of g . . . . .  
on euery syde for soth . . . .  
hyr brydil reynes w . . . . .  
A semly syt it w . . . . .  
Croper & paytrel . . . . .  
In euery joynt . . . . .  
She led thre gre . . . . .  
& racches cowpled . . . . .  
She bare an horn a . . . . .  
& vndir hyr gyrdyll . . . . .  
Thomas lay & sawe . . . . .  
In þe bankes of h . . . . .  
he sayd 'þonder is ma . . . . .  
þat bar þ<sup>e</sup> child þat . . . . .  
certes bot I may s . . . . .  
ellys my hert w . . . . .  
I shal me hye with . . . . .  
hyr to mete at 30 . . . . .  
Thomas rathly up a . . . . .  
& ran ouyr mountay . . . . .  
if it be sothe þe story . . . .  
he met hyr euyn a . . . . .  
Thomas knelyd down on h . . .  
vndir nethe þe gr . . . . .  
And sayd 'louely lad . . . . .  
Qwene of heu . . . . .  
. . . . . [leaf 241]  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

COTTON

¶ She blewe A note, and treblyd Als,  
the Ryches into the shawe gan gone ;  
There was no man that herd þe noyes,  
Saue thomas there he lay a lone. 60  
here cropyng was of ryche gold,  
here parrell alle of Alarañ ;  
here brydyll was of Reler bolde ;  
On euery side hangyd bellys then. 64

¶ She led iij greue hwndes in a leshe,  
Seue richys aboute hir syde ran ; 70

Thomas ley and beheld this syght,  
vnder neth a sembly tre ;  
'yendyr ys that ladye most of myght,  
That bare the chylde that blede for me.  
But yf I speke with that lady bryght, 77  
I trowe my harte wolde breke in thre ;

¶ I wyll go wyth all my myght,  
And mete with hir at Elden tre.' 80  
Thomas Raythly vp A Rose,  
And Ran ouer that Montayne hye ;  
yf it be as the story sais,  
He met with hir at elden tre. 84

He knelyd vpon his kne, [leaf 25]  
Vnderneth a grene wode spraye ;

¶ 'Louely lady ! rewe on me ;  
Quene of heuyn, as ye wele may !' 88  
Then said that lady Mylde of poughit,  
'Thomas, lat suche wordes be !  
For quene of heuyn am I not,  
I toke neuer so hye degre. 92

LANSDOWNE

<sup>2</sup>Hir garthis of nobull silke þei were,  
hir boculs þei were of barys ston ; [leaf 119,  
hir stioppis thei were of cristall clere,  
And alle with perry aboute be gon.  
Hir paytrell was of a riall fyne,  
Hir cropur was of Arafe ;  
Hir bridull was of golde fyne ;  
On every side hong bellis thre.

She led iij grehoundis in a leessehe,  
viij rachis be hir fete ran ;  
To speke with hir wold I not seesse ;  
Hir lire was white as any swan.  
fforsothe, lordyngis, as I yow tell,  
Thus was þis lady fayre begon ;  
She bare a horne aboute hir halce,  
And vndur hir gyrdill mony flonne.

Thomas lay and saw þat sight,  
Vndurneth a semely tre ;  
he seid, yonde is mary of myght,  
þat bare þe childe þat died for me.  
But I speke with þat lady bright,  
I hope my hert wille breke in thre ;  
But I will go with alle my myght,  
Hir to mete at eldryn tre.

Thomas radly vp he rose,  
And ran ouer þat mounteyn hye,  
And certainly, as þe story sayes,  
he hir mette at eldryne tre.

he knelid downe vpon his kne,  
Vndurneth þe grenewode spray ;  
louely lady ! þou rew on me ;  
qwene of heuen, as þou well may !

Than seid þat lady bright, [leaf 120]  
Thomas, let such wordis be !  
ffor quen of heuon am I noght,  
I toke neuer so hye degre.

CAMBRIDGE

Bote j ame of ane oper countree, . . . . .  
 If j be payrelde moste of pryse; . . . . . most of prise  
 I ryde aftyre this wylde fee, . . . . .  
 My raches rynnys at my devyse.' 96 . . . . . at my devys.'  
 'If þou be parelde moste of prysee, . . . . .  
 And here rydis thus in thy folye, . . . . . lady in strange foly,  
 Of lufe, lady, als þou erte wysse, . . . . .  
 þou gyffe me leue to lye the bye!' 100 þou ȝeue me leue to lige ȝe by.'  
 Scho sayde, 'þou mane, þat ware folye, . . . . . oly  
 I praye þe, Thomas, þou late me bee; 'I pray þe, thomas, late me be!  
 ffor j saye þe full sekirlye, 103 . . . . . erly  
 þat synne wiþ for-doo aȝ my beaute.' þat wolde fordo all my bewte.'  
 'Now, luffy ladye, rewe one mee, . . . . . rew on me,  
 And j wiþ euer more wiþ the dueȝte; & euyr more I shal wiþ þe dwell;  
 Here my trouthe j wiþ the plyghte, . . . . . nowe I plyght to þe,  
 Whethir þou wiþ in heuene or heȝte.' 108 where þou byleues in heuyn or hell.'  
 ' . . . t þou myght lyg[e] me by,  
 vndir nethe þis grene wode spray,  
 . . . . . tell to morowe full hastely,  
 þat þou hade layne by a lady ga[y.]' .  
 ' . . . . I mote lygge by þe,  
 vndir nethe þis gren wode tre,  
 . . . . ll þe golde in crastyenty,  
 sulde þou neuyr be wryede for me.'  
 ' . . . on molde, þou will me marre,  
 And þe, bot þou may hafe þi will,  
 . . . þou wele, thomas, þou cheuyst þe  
 foll al my bewte wilt þou spyl[l.]' [warre,  
 . . . une lyghtyd þat lady bryȝht,  
 vndir nethe þe gren wod spray;  
 . . . . þe story sayth full ryȝt,  
 Seuyr tymes by hyr he lay.  
 Scho sayd, 'mane, the lykes thy playe: ' . . . . yd, man, þou lyste þi play,  
 Whate byrdein boure maye delle wiþ theȝ Thou merrys me aȝ þis longe daye, [col. 2] what berde in boure myȝt dele wiþ ȝe?  
 I praye the, Thomas, late me bee!' 128 . . . . . es me all þis longe day,  
 I pray þe, thomas, lat me be!'

¶ I am of a nothere contre,  
 Thowgh I be perlyd moste in pryce;  
 And ryde here after the wylde fe,  
 My raches rennyng att my deuyce.' 96  
 'Yf þou be perled most in price,  
 And ryde here in thy foly,  
 louely lady, ware wyce,  
 yeue me leue to lye the bye.' 100

¶ She said, 'man, that were foly;  
 I pray the Thomas lett me be;  
 For I the say sekerelye,  
 Syn wolde þou for-do al my bewte.' 104  
 'A lowly lady! reu oñe me,  
 And euer I wole withe the dwell.  
 My trowche I plyght to the,  
 whepere þou wylt to hevyne or hell.' 108

But I am a lady of anoper cuntre,  
 If I be parellid moost of price;  
 I ride aftur þe wilde fee,  
 My raches rannen at my deuyse.  
 If þou be pareld most of price,  
 And ridis here in þi balye,  
 Lufly lady, as þou art wyse,  
 To gif me leue to lye þe by.  
 Do way, thomas, þat were foly;  
 I pray þe hertely let me be;  
 ffor I say the securly,  
 þat wolde for-do my bewte.  
 Lufly lady, þou rew on me,  
 And I shaft euermore with þe dwell;  
 here my trouth I plight to þe,  
 Whedur þou wilt to heuon or hell.

¶ 'A Man of Molde! þou wolte me Mare,  
 And yete þou shalte haue all thy wyll;  
 But wete þou well, þou chece hit the war,  
 For all my bewte þou wolte spyll.' 120  
 A downe alyght that lady bryght,  
 vnder nethe that grene wode spraye;  
 And, as the story tellythe ryght,  
 Seuen sythes by hir he laye. 124  
 ¶ 'A man, þe lykythe wele thy playe:  
 Whate byrde in bowre may dele with the?  
 Thou marrest me here this long day,  
 I pray the, Thomas, [lett] me be!' 128

LANSDOWNE

Man of molde! þou wilt me marre,  
 But zet þou shalt haue thy wille;  
 But trow þou well, þou thryuist þe warre,  
 ffor alle my beute þou wille spille.  
 Down þen light þat lady bryght,  
 Vndurneth a grenewode spray;  
 And, as þe story tellus ful right, [120, 124]  
 vij tymes be hir he lay.  
 She seid, thomas, þou likis þi play:  
 What byrde in boure may dwel with þe?  
 þou marris me here þis lefe long day,  
 I pray the, Thomas, let me be!

CAMBRIDGE

8 THOMAS IS APPALLED AT THE TRANSFORMATION, AND KNOWS NOT WHAT TO DO. [FYTTE I.]

Thomas stode vpe in þat stede,	. . . . . ode vp in þat stede,
And he by-helde þat lady gaye ;	& behelde þat lady gay ;
Hir hare it hange aH ouer hir hede,	. . . . . hange downe a bowte hyr hede ;
Hir eghne semede owte, þatare weregraye.	hyr eyn semyt oute be sorow grey. 132
And aHe þe riche clothyng was a-waye,	. . . . . thyng was all away,
þat he by-fore sawe in þat stede ; 134	þat he before had sene in þat stede ;
Hir a schanke blake, hir oþer graye,	. . . . . blake, þat oþer gray,
And aH hir body lyke the lede. 136	hyr body als blo as ony lede.
Thomas laye & sawe þat syghte,	
Vndir-nethe þat grenewod tree ;	
þan said Thomas, 'allas ! allas ! 137	. . . . . de, & sayd 'allas !
In faythe þis es a dullfull syghte ;	Me thynke þis is a dulfull syght ;
How arte þou fadyde þus in þe face,	. . . . . fadyd in þi face,
þat schane by-fore als þe sonne so	before þou shone as son so bryzt.'
bryght[e] !' 140	

	[& Mon[e],
Scho sayd, 'Thomas, take leue at sonne	' . . . . e, thomas, at son & mone,
And als at lefe þat grewes on tree ; 158	at gresse & at euery tre ;
This twelmoneth saH þou with me gone,	. . . . ethe sal þou with me gone,
And MediH-erthe saH þou none see.' 160	Medyl erth þou sall not se.'
He knelyd downe appone his knee,	

THORNTON

COTTON

Thomas stode vp in that stede, [leaf 25, bk]	Thomas stondand in þat sted,
And behelde that shulde be gay ;	And beheld þat lady gay ;
hure here honge aboute hir hede,	hir here þat hong vpon hir hed,
here yene semyd out that were gray. 132	hir een semyd out, þat were so gray.
¶ And all hir clopyng were Awaye,	And alle hir clothis were Away,
There she stode in that stede ;	þat here before saw in þat stede ;
her colour blak, oþer gray,	þe too þe blak, þe toþur gray,
And all hir body as betyn lede. 136	þe body bloo as beten leed.

T[h]an said Thomas, 'Alas ! alas !	Thomas seid, Alas ! Alas !
This is A dewellfull sight ;	In feith þis is a dolfull sight ;
now is she fasyd in þe face, 139	þat þou art so fadut in þe face,
that shone be fore as þe sonne bryght !'	þat before schone as sunne bright !

¶ On euery syde he lokyde abowete,  
 he sau he myght no whare fle ;  
 Sche woxe so grym and so stowte,  
 The Dewyll he wende she had be. 144  
 In the Name of the trynite,  
 he coniuryde here anon Ryght,  
 That she shulde not come hym nere,  
 But wende away of his syght. 148

¶ She said, 'Thomas, this is no nede,  
 For fende of hell am I none ;  
 For the now am I grete desese,  
 And suffre paynis many one. 152  
 this xij Mones þou shalt with me gang,  
 And se the maner of my lyffe ;  
 for thy trowche thou hast me tane,  
 Ayene þat may ye make no stryfe. 156

¶ Tak thy leue of sone and Mone,  
 And the lefe that spryngyth on tre ;  
 þis xij monthes þou most with me gone,  
 Middylle ertie þou shalt not se.' 160

Take þi leue, thomas, at sune & mone,  
 And also at levys of eldryne tre ;  
 This twelmond shall þou with me gon,  
 þat mydul erth þou shalt not se.  
 he knelyd downe vpon his kne,

Vndir-nethe þat grenewod spraye; 162

And sayd, 'luffy lady! rewe on mee,

Myldeqwene of heuene, als þou bestamaye.

Allas!' he sayd, '& wa es mee!

I trowe my dedis wyð wirke me care;

My saulle, jhesu, by-teche j the, 167

Whedir-some þat euer my banes sað fare.'

Scho ledde hym jn at Eldone hið,

Vndir-nethe a derne lee;

Whare it was dirke als mydnyght myrke,

And euer þe water tið his knee. 172

The montenans of dayes thre,

He herd bot swoghynge of þe flode;

At þe laste, he sayde, 'fulð wa es mee!

Almaste j dye, for fawte of f[ode].'

176 Scho lede hym in-tið a faire herbere,

Whare frwte wasg[ro]wan[dgretplentee;]

'Pere and appið, bothe ryppe þay were,

The date, and als the damasee; [17150, 171]

þe fygge, and als so þe wyneberye; 181

The nyghtgales byggande on þair neste;

þe papeioyes faste abowte gane flye;

And throstyhs sange wolde hafe no reste.

He pressede to pulle frowyte wið his

hande, 185

Als mane for fude þat was nere faynt;

Scho sayd, 'Thomas! þoulate þamestande,

Or ehs þe fende the wið atteynt. 188

If þou it plockk, sothely to saye,

Thi saule gose to þe fyre of hette;

It commes neuer owte or domesdaye,

Bot þer jn payne ay for to duehe. 192

Thomas, sothely, j the hyghte,

Come lygge thyne hededowne on my knee,

And [þou] sað se þe fayreste syghte,

þat euer sawe mane of thi contree.' 196

He did in hye als scho hym badde;

THORNTON

. . . . . ll wo is me!

I trowe my dedes will werke me care:

. . . . . ake to þe,

Whedir so eyur my body sal fare.'

. . . . . h wið all hyr myzt,

vndir nethe þat derne lee;

. . . . . s derke as at mydnyzt,

& eyur in watyr vnto þe kne.

. . . . . of dayes thre

he herde but swowyng of a flode;

. . . . s sayde, 'ful wo is me,

Nowe I spyll for fawte of fode.'

. . . . . she lede hym tyte;

þer was fruyte gret plente;

. . . . . les þer were rype,

þe date & þe damese;

. . . . . fylbert tre;

þe nyghtyngale bredyng in hyr neste;

. . . . . a bowte gan fle.

þe throstylkoke sange wolde hafe no . . .

. . . . . pulle fruyt wið hys hande;

as man for fawte þat was . . . . .

. . . . . 'lat all stande,

er als þe deuyl wil þe ataynte, 188

. . . . . tomas, I þe hyzt,

& lay þi hede vp on my kne;

. . . . . a fayrer syzt,

þat eyur sawe man in þu komtra.

COTTON

	To mary mylde he made his mone :	
	Lady ! but þou rew on me,	
	Alle my games fro me ar gone.	
'Alas !' he said, 'full wo is me,	Alas ! he seyð, woo is me,	[leaf 121]
I trowe my werkȝ wyll wryche me care ;	I trow my dedis wil wyrk me woo ;	
My soule, Ihesu, I be take the,	Ihesu, my soule betече I the,	
Where on erthe my body shall fare.' 168	Wher so euer my bonys shall goo.	
¶ She lede hym downe at elden hyll,	She led hym to þe eldryn hilt,	
vnder neth a derne le,	Vndurneth þe grenewode lee,	[leaf 26]
In weys derke þat was full ylle,	Wher hit was derk as any hell,	
And euer water vp to his kne. 172	And euer water tille þe knee.	
The monetaynis of dayes thre	þer þe space of dayes thre,	
he harde but swoyng of the fode ;	he herd but þe noyse of þe fode ;	
Att the last he said, 'full wo is me !	At þe last, he seid, wo is me !	
All most I dye for defawte of fode.' 176	Almost I dye, for fowte of fode.	
¶ Sche browght hym tyl A fayre erbore,	She led hym into a fayre herbere,	
where fruyt growyd grete plente ;	þer frute groande was gret plente ;	
Peres and Apples Rype they were,	peyres and appuls, bothe ripe þei were.	
Datys and the damyse ; 180	þe darte and also þe damsȝn tre ;	
the fyges and the pyunene fre ;	þe fygge and also þe white bery ;	
the nyghtyngalle byldyng hire nest ;	þe nyghtyngale biggyng hir nest,	
the popyngay abowte gan fle,	þe popyniay fast about gan flye,	
the throssell song hauyng no rest. 184	þe throstill song wolde haue no rest.	
¶ Thomas prayd to pull the frute with	he presed to pul þe fr[ute with] his honde,	
his hand,		
As man for fode hade been feynte ;	As man for fode was nyhonde feynte ;	
Sche said, 'Thomas, let that stonde, 187	She seid, thomas, let þem stande,	
Or elles þe dewele wole the Ateynte :	Or ellis þe feend [will] þe ateynte.	
Yf þou pull there of Asay,	If þou pulle, þe sothe to sey,	[leaf 121, back]
Thowe myght be damnez into hell ;	þi soule goeth to þe fyre of hell ;	
Thowe commyst neuer owte agayne,	hit cummes neuer out til domas day,	
But euer in payn þou shalt dwell. 192	But þer euer in payne to dwelle.	
¶ But Thomas southly I the heght,	She seid, thomas, I þe hight,	
Come ley thy hed on my kne,	Come lay þi hed on my kne,	
And þou shall se the farest sight,	And þou shalle se þe feyrest sight,	
that euer saw man of thy contrey. 196	þat euer saw mon of þi cuntre.	
	He leyð down his hed as she hym badde ;	



Appone hir knee his hede he layde,  
ffor hir to paye he was full glade,  
And þane þat lady to hym sayde: 200

‘Seese þou nowe 3one faire waye,  
þat lygges ouer 3one heghe mountayne?—  
3one es þe waye to heuene for aye, 203  
Whene synfull sawles are passede þer  
Seese þou nowe 3one oþer waye, [payne.  
þat lygges lawe by-nethe 3one ryse?  
3one es þe waye þe sothe to saye,  
Vn-to þe joye of paradyse. 208

Seese þou 3itt 3one thirde waye,  
þat ligges vndir 3one grene playne?  
3one es þe waye, with tene and traye,  
Whare synfull saulis suffiris þaire payne.

Bot seese þou nowe 3one ferthe waye,  
þat lygges ouer 3one depe delle? 214  
3one es þe waye, so waylawaye,  
Vn-to þe birmande fyre of helle.  
Seese þou 3itt 3one faire castelle,  
[þat standis ouer] 3one heghe hill? 218

<sup>1</sup>Of towne & towre, it beris þe belle;  
In erthe es none lyke it vn-till. [1 col. 2]  
ffor sothe, Thomas, 3one es myne awenne,  
And þe kynges of this Countree; 222  
Bot me ware leuer be hanged & drawene,  
Or þat he wyste þou laye me by.

When þou commes to 3one castelle gaye,  
I pray þe curtase mane to bee; 226  
And whate so any mane to þe saye,  
Luke þou answee none bott mee.

My lorde es seruede at ylk a mese,  
With thritty knyghttis faire & free; 230  
I saß saye syttande at the desse,  
I take thi speche by-3onde the see.’

Thomas still als stane he stude,  
And he by-helde þat lady gaye; 234

THORNTON

. . . . . tomas, 3one fayre way,  
þat lyggys ouyr 3one fayr playn?  
. . . . . ay to heuyn for ay,  
whan synfull sawles haf ful . . . . 204  
. . . . . is 3one secund way,  
þat ligges lawe vndir þe rese?  
. . . . . ay, sothly to say,  
. . . to þe joyes of paradyse.

. . . . . s 3one thyrd way,  
þat lygges ouyr 3one . . .  
. . . . . sothly to say,  
to þe bryunyng fyre of hell.  
. . . . . 3one fayr castell,  
þat standes ouyr 3one . . .

[leaf 241, back]

. . . . .  
. . . . . tomas . . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . hade leuer be han . .

whan þu comyst in 3one . .

what so any man to þe say,  
s . . . . .  
My lorde is seruyd at eche mese,

with thry . . . . .  
I sall say, syttyng on þe dese,  
I toke þi sp . . . . .  
Thomas stode as still as stone,  
& byhelde þat lady . . . .

COTTON

Seest thou yender that playn way,  
 That lyeth ouer youre playn so cuyne?  
 That is the wey, sothely to say,  
 To the hight blysse of hewyne. 204  
 ¶ Seyst þou yendyr, A noþer way,  
 That lyeth yendyr vnder the grene Ryce?  
 T[h]at is the wey, sothely to say,  
 To the Ioye of paradyce. 208  
 Seyst þow yender thrid way,  
 That lyeth vnder that hye Montayne?  
 that is the wey, sothely to say, [leaf 26, bk]  
 where synfull soulis sufferis payne. 212  
 ¶ Seyst þou yendur forthere way,  
 that lyeth yendur full fell?  
 hit it the wey, sothely to saye,  
 To the brynyng fyre of hell. 216  
 Seist þou yonder, that fayre castell,  
 that standyth hye vpon that hyll?  
 of Townys and towris it berys the bell;  
 On erthe is lyke non oþer tyll. 220  
 ¶ Forsothe, Thomas, that is myne owne,  
 And the kyngis of this countre;  
 Me were as goode be hengyd or brent,  
 As he wyst þou layst me bye. 224  
 when thou commyst to þe þendyr castell  
 I pray the curtace man þou be; [gay,  
 And what any man to the say,  
 loke þou answer no man but me. 228  
 ¶ My lorde is seruyd at the Messe,  
 with xxx<sup>ti</sup> bolde barons and thre.  
 And I wyll say, sitting at þe deyce,  
 I toke the speche at elden tre.' 232  
 Thomas stode styll as stone,  
 And behelde this lady gay;

His hed vpon hir kne he leide,  
 hir to please he was full gladde,  
 And þen þat lady to hym she seide:  
 Sees þou zondur fayre way  
 þat lyes ouer zondur mownteyne?  
 zondur is þe way to heuen for ay,  
 Whan synful sowlis haue duryd þer peyn.  
 Seest þou now, thomas, zondur way,  
 þat lyse low vndur zon rise?  
 zondur is þe way, þe sothe to say,  
 Into þe ioies of paradyce.  
 Sees þou zonder thrid way,  
 þat lyes ouer zondur playne?  
 zonder is þe way, þe sothe to say,  
 þer sinfull soules schalle drye þer payne.  
 Sees þou now zondur fourt way, [leaf 122]  
 þat lyes ouer zondur felle?  
 zonder is þe way, þe sothe to say,  
 Vnto þe brennand fyre of hell.  
 Sees þou now zondur fayre casteH,  
 þat stondis vpon zondur fayre hilt?  
 Off towne & toure, it berith þe bell;  
 In mydul erth is non like þer-till.  
 In faith, thomas, zondur is myne owne,  
 And þe kyngus of þis cuntre;  
 but me were bettur be hengud & drawyn,  
 þen he wist þat þou lay be me.  
 My lorde is serued at ilk a messe, (229)  
 with xxx<sup>ti</sup> knyztis fayre & fre;  
 And I shalle say, sitting at þe deese,  
 I toke þi speche be zonde þe lee. (232)  
 Whan þou comes to zondur casteH gay,  
 I pray þe curtes man to be; (226)  
 And what so euer any man to þe say,  
 Loke þou answer non but me. (228)  
 Thomas stondyng in þat stode,  
 And be helde þat lady gay;

14 THE LADY IS RESTORED TO HER FORMER BEAUTY, AND THEY ENTER THE CASTLE.

Scho come agayne als faire & gude, þan was she fayr & ryche onone,  
And also ryche one hir palfraye. 236 & also ryal on hyr . . . .

Hir grewehundis fillide with dere blode ;	þe grewhondes had fylde þaim on þe dere,
Hir raches couplede by my faye ;	& ratches . . . . .
Scho blewe hir horne, with mayne & mode,	she blew hyr horne, thomas to chere,
Vn-to þe castelle scho tuke þe waye. 252	& to þe castel she to . . . . .
In-to þe hauße sothely scho went ;	þe lady in to þe hall went,
Thomas foloued at hir hande ;	thomas folowyd at hyr h . . . .
Than ladyes come, bothe faire & gent,	þar kept hyr mony a lady gent,
With curtassye to hir knelande. 256	with curtasy & lawe kne . . . .
Harpe & fethiþ bothe þay fande,	harpe & fedyl both he fande,
Getterne, and als so þe sawtrye ;	þe getern & þe sawtery ;
Lutte and rybybe bothe gangande,	Lut & rybib þer gon gange,
And all manere of mynstralsye. 260	þer was all maner of mynstralsy.
þe moste meruelle þat Thomas thoghte,	þe most ferly þat thomas thoght,
Whene þat he stode appone þe flore ;	whan he come o myddes . . . . .
for feftty hertis jn were broghte,	fourty hertes to quarry were broȝt,
þat were bothe grete and store. 264	þat had ben before both sty . . .
Raches laye lapande in þe blode,	lymors lay lapynges blode,
Cokes come with dryssyngge knyfe ;	& kokes standing with dressyngge . . .
Thay brittened þame als þay were wode,	& dressyd dere as þai were wode,
Reuelle amanges þame was full ryfe. 268	& reuell was þer wonder r . . .
<sup>1</sup> Knyghtis dawnsede by three and three,	knyztes dansyd by two & thre,
There was revelle, gamene, and playe ;	all þat leue lange day ;
Lufly ladyes faire and free, [leaf 153]	ladyes þat were gret of gre,

Sche was as white as whelys bone,  
And as Ryche on hir palefray. 236

¶ Thomas said, 'lady, wele is me,  
that euer I baide this day;  
nowe ye bene so fayre and whyte,  
By fore ye war so blake and gray! 240  
I pray you that ye wyll me say,  
lady, yf thy wyll be,  
why ye war so blake and graye?  
ye said it was be cause of me.' 244

¶ 'For sothe, and I had not been so,  
Sertayne sothe I shall the tell; [leaf 27]  
Me had been as good to goo,  
To the brynnynge fyre of hell; 248  
My lorde is so fers and fell,  
that is king of this contre,  
And fulle sone he wolde haue y<sup>e</sup>smell,  
of the defeaute I did with the.' 252

¶ In to the halle worldely they went,  
Thomas folowde at hir honde;  
Forthe came ladyes fayre and gent,  
Curtesly Ayene hir kneland. 256  
Harpe and fythell bothe they foynd,  
the sytoll and the sawtery;  
the gytorne and rybbe gan goyn,  
And all maner of Menstrally. 260

¶ þe noeste ferly that thomas hade,  
when he was stondyng on the flowre,  
the gretest hert of alle hys londe,  
that was stronge, styfe, and store; 264  
Raches lay lapyng of his blode,  
And kokes with dressyng knywwys A hande,  
Trytlege the dere, as they were wode,  
there was Ryfe, reuoll Amonge. 268

¶ Knyghtys dawnsyng by iij and thre,  
there was reuell, game, and play;  
louely ladyes, fayre and fre,

LANSDOWNE

She was as feyre and as gode,  
And as riche on hir palfray.

<sup>1</sup>Hir greyhoundis fillid with þe dere blode;  
Hir rachis coupuld be my fay; [11123, bk]  
She blew hir horne, on hir palfray gode,  
And to þe castell she toke þe way.

Into a haß sothly she went;  
Thomas folud at hir hande;  
Ladis came, bothe faire & gent,  
fful curtesly to hir kneland.  
harpe and fidul both þei fande,  
þe getern, and also þe sautry;  
þe lute and þe ribybe both gangand,  
And alle maner of mynstralcy. 260

knyȝtis dawnsyng be thre & thre,  
þer was revel, both game & play;  
þer ware ladyes, fayre and fre,  
Dawnsyng [one ric]he aray. (272)  
þe grettist ferlye þat thomas thoȝt,  
when xxx<sup>th</sup> hartis ley [up]on flore;  
And as mony dere in were broght,  
þat was largely long & store. (264)

Rachis lay lappand on þe dere blode,  
þe cokys þei stode with dressyng knyves;  
Brytnand þe dere as þei were wode;

CAMBRIDGE

That satte and sange one riche araye.  
 Thomas duellide in that solace 273  
 More þane j 3owe saye parde ;  
 TiH one a daye, so hafe I grace,  
 My lufly lady sayde to mee : 276  
 ' Do buske the, Thomas, þe buse agayne ;  
 ffor þou may here no lengare be ;  
 Hye the faste with myghte & mayne,  
 I saH the brynge tiH Eldone tree.' 280  
 Thomas sayde þane with heuy chere,  
 ' Lufly lady, nowe late me bee,  
 ffor certis, lady, j hafe bene here  
 Noghte bot þe space of dayes thre !' 284  
 ' ffor sothe, Thomas, als j þe tette,  
 þou hase bene here thre 3ere & more ;  
 Bot langere here þou may noghte dueHe,  
 The skyHe j saH þe tette whare-fore : 288  
 To Morne, of heHe þe fouHe fende.  
 Amange this folke with feche his fee ;  
 And þou arte mekiH mane and hende,  
 I trowe fuH wele he wolde chese the.  
 ffor aHe þe golde þat euer may bee, 293  
 ffro hethyne vn-to þe worldis ende,  
 þou bese neuer be-trayede for mee ;  
 þere-fore with me j rede thou wende.'  
 Scho broghte hym agayne to Eldone tree,  
 Vndir-nethe þat grenewode spraye ; 298  
 In huntlee bannkes es mery to bee,  
 Whare fowles synges bothe nyght & daye.  
 ' fierre owtt in 3one Mountane graye,  
 Thomas, my fawkone bygges a neste ;  
 A fawconne es an Erlis praye, 303  
 ffor-thi in na place may he reste. [1 col. 2]  
 1 ffare wele, Thomas, j wend my waye,  
 fforme by-houys ouer thir benttis browne.'  
 loo here a fytt more es to saye,  
 AH of Thomas of Erselldowne. 308

THORNTON

sat & sange of ryche aray.  
 Thomas sawe more in þat place,  
 þan I kan discry pard[e] ;  
 Til on a day, allas ! allas !  
 My louely lady sayd to . . .  
 ' buske þe, thomas, þou most agayn,  
 here þou may no la . . . . .  
 hy þe 3erne at þou wer at hame,  
 I sall þe brynge to . . . . .'  
 thomas answerd with heuy chere,  
 & sayd, ' louely lady, lat . . . .  
 for I say þe sertenly, here  
 hafe I be bot þe space of d . . . . .'  
 ' Sothly, tomas, as I tell þe,  
 þou hath ben here thre 3ere . . . . .  
 & here þou may no langer be,  
 & I sall tell þe a skele . . . . .  
 to morowe, of hell þe foule fende,  
 A mang oure . . . . .  
 for þou art a large man, & an hende,  
 trowe þou wele . . . . .  
 for all þe golde þat may be,  
 fro hens vnto þe wor . . . . .  
 sal þou not be bytrayed for me ;  
 & þer for sall þou hens . . . .  
 She bro3t hym euyn to eldon tre,  
 vndir neth þe gr . . . . .  
 In huntle bankes was fayre to be,  
 þer breddis syng . . . . .  
 Ferre ouyr 3on montayns gray,  
 þer hathe my facon . . . . .

COTTON

Satte syttyng in A ryall Araye.	272	Reuell was among þem rife.	(268)
Thomas dwellyd in that place		There was reuell, game, & play,	[leaf 123]
longer þan I sey, <i>parde</i> ,		More þan I yow say <i>parde</i>	
Tyll one day, by fyll that cace,		Tille hit fel vpon a day,	
To hym spake that ladyes fre.	276	My lufly lady seid to me :	
¶ 'Buske the, Thomas, thou most		Buske þe, thomas, for þou most gon,	
for here þou may no lenger be ; [Ayene,		ffor here no longur mayst þou be ;	
'hye the fast with Mode and Mayne,		hye þe fast, <i>with</i> mode and mone ;	
I shalte the bryng at elden tre.' [1127, bk]		I shalle þe bryng to eldyn tre.	
Thomas said, <i>with</i> heuy chere,	281	Thomas answerid <i>with</i> heuy chere,	
'louely lady, lat me be !		Lufly lady, þou let me be ;	
For certaynlye, I haue beñ here		ffor certesly, I haue be here	
But the space of dayes þre.'	284	But þe space of dayes thre.	
¶ 'Forsoth, Thomas, I wolle the tell,		ffor sothe, thomas, I þe telle,	
thou hast been her iij yere and More ;		þou hast bene here seuen 3ere and more ;	
And here þou may no lenger dwell,		ffor here no longur may þou dwell,	
I shall the tell A skele wherefore ;	288	I shal tel þe the skyl wherfore :	
To morowe, a fowle fend of hell,		To morou, on of hel, a fowle fende,	
A Mongis this folke shall chese his fe,		Among þese folke shal chese his fee ;	
And for thou arte long man and hende,		þou art a fayre man and a hende,	
I lewe wele, he wyll haue þe.	292	fful wel I wot he wil chese the.	
¶ And forall the goodethat euer myght be,		ffor alle þe golde þat euer myght be,	
For hevene to the worldris ende,		ffro heuon vnto þe wordis ende,	
Shalt þou neuer be bytrayed by me ;		þou beys neuer trayed for me ;	
þere fore I rede the <i>with</i> me wend.'	296	ffor[th] <i>with</i> me I rede the wende.	
She browgħt hym Ageyn to elden tre,		She broght hym agayn to eldyn tre,	
Vnder neth A grene wode spray ;		Vndurneth þe grenewode spray ;	
In huntely bankes is man to be,		In huntley bankis þis for to be, [leaf 123, bk]	
Where fowlis syngith nygħt and day.	300	ther foulis syng boþe nyȝt & day,	
¶ 'For ouere youre Montayne graye,		'ffor out ouer 3on mownten gray,	
Where my fawcone beldith his nest,		Thomas, a fowken makis his nest ;	
the fawcone is the herons pray,		A fowkyn is an yrons pray,	
therefore in no place may she Rest.	304	ffor þei in place wiłt haue no rest.	
Faire wele, Thomas, I wende my way,		ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way,	
Me bous ouere yowre brwtes broume.'		ffor me most ouer 3on bentis brown.'	
Here is A foott, And tway to say,		This is a fyte ; twayn ar to sey,	
Of Thomas of Assildoun.	308	Off Thomas of Erseltown.	

LANSDOWNE

ERCILDOUN.

CAMBRIDGE

[Sloane 2578, leaf 6 (begins at Fytt 2).]

## [FYTT THE SECONDE.]

## [FYTT THE SECOND.]

**F**are wele, Thomas, j wend my waye,  
 I may no lengare stande *with* the!  
 'Gyff me a tokynynge, lady gaye,  
 That j may saye j spake *with* the.' 312  
 'To harpe or carpe, whare-so þou gose,  
 Thomas, þou saht hafe þe chose sothely.'  
 And he saide, 'harpyng kepe j none;  
 ffor tonge es chefe of mynstralsye.' 316  
 'If þou wilt speke, or tales telle,  
 Thomas, þou saht neuer lesynge lye,  
 Whare euer þou fare, by frythe or fette,  
 I praye the, speke none euyh of me!  
 ffare wele, Thomas, *with*-owttyne gyle,  
 I may no lengare duehe *with* the.' 322  
 'Lufly lady, habyde a while,  
 And telle þou me of some ferly!'  
 'Thomas, herkyne what j the saye:  
 Whene a tree rote es dede, 326  
 The leues fadis þane & wytis a-waye;  
 & froyte it beris nane þane, whyte ne rede.  
 Of þe baylliolf blod so saht it fatte:  
 It saht be lyke a rotyne tree; 330  
 The comyns, & þe Barlays ahte,  
 The Russells, & þe ffresells free,

THORNTON

¶ Heare begynethe þe ij<sup>d</sup> fytt I saye  
 of Sir thomas of Arseldon.  
 'Farewell, thomas, I wend my waye; 309  
 I may no lenger dwell *with* the.'  
 'Guyve me some token, Lady gaye,  
 that I may saye I spake *with* the.' 312  
 'to harpe or carpe, whither thowe can,  
 thomas, þou shalt haue sothely.'  
 he said 'herpyng kepe I none;  
 for tonge is chief of mynstrelsy.' 316  
 '& þou wilt speake, & tales tell,  
 thowe shalt neuer leasyng lye;  
 whither þou walke by frythe or fell,  
 I pray the, speake none ivell by me! 320  
 Fare well, thomas, *with*outen gile,  
 I may no lenger abide *with* the.'  
 'Lovly lady, abide a while,  
 and some ferly tell thowe me!' 324  
 'thomas, herken what I shall saye:  
 when a tre rote is deade,  
 the leaves faden & fallen awaye,  
 Fruyt it beareth the none on in elde. 328  
 [No break in the MS.]  
 the baly of blud it shalbe,  
 their comens, & þer barons all,  
 the Russelles, & þe fresselles fre, 332

SLOANE

*Continuation of Cotton Manuscript.*

## [FYT THE SECOND.]

**F**are wele thomas I wende my way · I may no lang  
 [Gyfe] me a tokyn lady gay · If euyr I se þow w 312  
 [To ha]rpe or carp wher þat þou gon · þou sal hafe þ  
 thomas sayde harpyng kep I non · for tonge is che[f 316  
 [Fare] wele thomas for nowe I go · I will no langer sta[y

## [FOOTT THE SECOND.]

¶ 'Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way;  
I may no langer dwell *with* the.'

['G]yf sum tokyne, my lady gay, [leaf 23]  
that euer I saw the *with* my ye' 312

'To harp or carp, where euer I gone,  
Thomas, þou shalt chese soþele.'

'I, lady, harpyng wyll I none,  
For townge is cheffe Mynstralye.' 316

¶ 'Yf þou wolte speke, or talis tell,  
lesynges shalt þou neuer lye;  
But where þou go by fryþ or fell,  
I pray the, speke no ewylle by me! 320  
Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way;  
I may no langere dwell *with* the.'

'yete, louely lady! goode and gay,  
A hyde and tell me More ferlye.' 324

LANSDOWNE

## [FYTTE THE SECOND.]

'Fare wel, Thomas, I wend may,  
I may no lengur stand *with* the!'

'gif me sum tokyn, lady gay,  
þat I may say I spake *with* the.' 312

To harpe or carpe, thomas, wher so euer  
Thomas, take þe chese *with* the. [3<sup>e</sup> gon,

harpyng, he seid, kepe I non,  
ffor tong is chefe of mynstralse. 316

'If þou wil spiH, or talys telle,  
Thomas, þou shal neuer make lye;  
Wher so euer þou gos, be frith or felle,  
I pray þe, speke neuer no ille of me! 320  
ffare wel, Thomas, and wel þou be;  
I can no lengur stand þe by.'

'Lovely lady, fayre & fre,  
Tel me ȝet of som farley!' 324

'Thomas, truly I þe say: [leaf 124]

Whan a tre rote is ded,  
þe levys fal, and dwyne away;  
ffrute hit berys; nedur white nor red. 328  
So shalle þis folkys blode be fall,  
þat shal be like ȝon roten tre;  
þe semewes & þe telys all,  
þe resuH & þe frechel fre, 332

CAMBRIDGE

## COTTON

[Louely] lady wo is me so · A hyde & tell me [some] fe 324

[Herken] thomas as I þe sey · whan þe trees rode is de  
[The leues] fallyth & wastyth a way · it beryth no fruy 328

[. . . . .] bali]oves blode be fall · I lyken to þe ro  
[. . . . .] & þes elders all · all for soth a way 332



AH saH þay fade, and wyte a-waye ;	all shall fade & fall awaye,
Na ferly if þat froyte than dye. 334	no farly then if þat fruyt dye !
And mekiH bale saH after spraye,	and mykell bale shall after spraye, [114, b:]
Whare joye & blysse was wonte [to bee ;]	wheare that blis was wont to be. 336
ffare wele, Thomas, j wende m[y waye]	farewell, thomas, I wend my waye ;
I may no langer stand w[ith the.] 338	I maye no lenger stande with the.'
'Now lufly lady gud [and gay]	'Lovly Lady, good & gaye,
Telle me jitt of some ferly !' [leaf 151, back]	tell me yet of somme farle !' 340
'Whatkyns ferlys, Thomas gude,	'what kyns farly, thomas good,
Sold j þe telle, and thi wiHs bee?' 342	shuld I the tell, if thi will be?'
'Telle me of this gentiH blode,	'tell, of the gentle blud
Wha saH thrife, and wha saH thee :	who shall vnthrive, & who shall the ; 344
Wha saH be kyng, wha saH be none,	who shalbe kyng, who shalbe none,
And wha saH welde this northe countre ?	who shall weld þe northe contre ?
Wha saH flee, & wha saH be tane, 347	who shall fle, who shalbe tane,
And whare thir bateHs donne saH bee ?'	& wheare þe battell ; done shalbe ?' 348
'Thomas, of a BateH j saH þe telle,	'of a battelle I will the telle,
þat saH be done righte sone at wiH :	that shalbe done sonne at will :
Beryns saH mete bothe fers & fette, 351	birdes shall mete, both fresshe & fell,
And freschely fighte at Eldone hiH.	& fyersly fight at eldon hill. 352
The Bretons blode saH vnder fete,	the brusse blud shall vnder gonge,
þe Bruyse blode saH wyne þe spraye ;	the bretens shall wyne all þe praye ;
Sex thowsande ynglysche, wele þou wete,	thre thowsand scottes, on þe grownde,
SaH there be slayne, þat jlk daye. 356	shalbe slayne that ilk daye. 356
ffare wele, Thomas, j wende my waye ;	farewell, thomas, I wend my waye ;
To stande with the, me thynk fuH jrke.	to stand with the me thynk it irk.
Of a bateH j wiH the saye,	of a battell I will the saye,
þat saH be done at fawkirke : 360	that shalbe done at fowse kyrk ; 360

THORNTON

SLOANE .

COTTON

[Farew]ele thomas I wende my waye . I may no langer s	
[Louely lady] gentyl & gay . a bide & tele me so	340
{ [2 lines lost at top of page]	[leaf 242]
{ . . . . .	
Il] weld þ <sup>e</sup> north cun	

Alle shalle falle, & dwyn away ;  
 No wondur þoȝ þe rote dy.  
 And mekiȝ bale shal aftur spray,  
 þer ioy and blisse were wont to be. 336  
 fiare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;  
 I may no lengur stand þe by.  
 'luffy lady, gude and gay,  
 telle me ȝet of som ferly !' 340  
 ¶ 'What kynne, Thomas, ferly gode,  
 wold ye fayn wete of me ?'  
 'Lady, of this gentyll blode  
 who shall þryue, and who shall þe ; 344  
 who shalbe kyng, and who shall be none,  
 And where any battell done shall be,  
 who shall be slaye, who shalbe Tane,  
 And who shall wyne the north Contre ?'  
 ¶ 'Of A batell I shall the tell, 349  
 that shalbe done sone at wyll :  
 Barons shall mete, boith fers and fell,  
 And freslye fyght at helydowne hyll. 352  
 Fare wele, Thomas, I wende my way,  
 To stande here me thinke it yrke ;  
 But of A batell I shall the say  
 that shalbe don at faw Chirch. 360

LANSDOWNE

Alle shalle falle, & dwyn away ;  
 No wondur þoȝ þe rote dy.  
 And mekiȝ bale shal aftur spray,  
 þer ioy and blisse were wont to be. 336  
 fiare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;  
 I may no lengur stand þe by.  
 'luffy lady, gude and gay,  
 telle me ȝet of som ferly !' 340  
 'What kyns ferly, thomas gode,  
 Shuld I tel þe, if þi wil be ?'  
 'telle me of þis gentil blode,  
 Who shal thrife, and who shal the ; 344  
 Who shal be kyng, who shall be non,  
 And who shal weld þe north cuntre ;  
 Who shall fle, & who shal be tane,  
 And wher þes batelis don shal be ?' 348  
 'Off a batelle I will þe tell,  
 þat shall come sone at will : [leaf 124, back]  
 'Barons shaȝ mete, both fre and fell,  
 And fresshely feȝt at ledyn hill. 352  
 the brucys blode shalle vndur faȝ,  
 the bretens blode shaȝ wyn þe spray ;  
 C. thowsand men þer shal be slayn, 355  
 Off scottysshe men þat nyght and day.  
 fiare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;  
 To stande with the, me thynk full yrke !  
 Off þe next bat[elle] I will þe say,  
 þat shall be at fawkyrke : 360

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

e] wher þes batels don sal b[e] 348  
 þ<sup>t</sup> sal be done ful son at wyll  
 r]yke & fell · & freshly fyȝt at halyndon hill 352  
 e]nde my way · to stonde with þ<sup>e</sup> me thynk ful yrke  
 sall] ye say · þat sal be don at fawkyrke 360

22 HER GREYHOUNDS ARE IMPATIENT, AND SHE AGAIN WISHES TO GO. [FYTTE II.]

Baners saff stande, bothe lang & lange ; baner; shall stand, longe & longe ;  
 Trowe this wele, with mode & mayne ; trowe þou well, with mode & mayne ;  
 The bruyssse blode saff vndir gane, 363 the brusse blod shall vnder gonge, [leaf 7]  
 Seuene thowsande scottis þer saff be v. thowsand scottes shalbe slayne. 364  
 slayne.

ffare wele, Thomas, j pray þe sesse ; farewell, thomas, I praye the cease ;  
 No lengare here þou tarye mee ; 366 no lenger heare þou tary me ;  
 My grewehundis, þay breke þaire lesse, my greyhowndes broken the fieshe,  
 And my raches þaire copiffs in three. & my ratchettes their coupulles in thre.  
 Loo ! whare þe dere, by twa and twa, loke howe þe deare, by ij & ij, 369  
 Haldis ouer þone Montane heghe.' 370 rvnn ouer yonder mountain high !  
 Thomas said, 'god schilde þou gaa ! thomas said, 'god shild thowe goo !

Bot telle me ȝitt of some ferly.' 372 but tell me yet of some farly.' 372

[' Of a] batelle, j saff the saye, 377 ' of a battell I will the saye,  
 [That saff] gare ladyse morne in mode ; that shall garr ladies to morne in mode :  
 [ . . . ]e, bothe water & claye at bannokburne, bothe water & claye,  
 Saff be mengyde with mannes blode: [col. 2] it shalbe mynged with red blod. 380  
 Stedis saff stombiff with tresoune, 381 steades shall stymbull with treason,  
 Bothe Baye & broune, grysselle and graye ; with blak & browne, grysell & graye ;  
 Gentiþ knyghtis saff stombiff downe, & ientill knyghtes shall tvmbull downe,  
 Thorowe þe takynge of a wykkide waye. thurghe takinge of a wicked waye. 384  
 þe Bretons blode saff vndir falle ; 385 þe bretens blod shall vnder fall,  
 The Bryusse blode saff wyne þe spraye ; the brusse shall wyzne all the praye ;

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

sal stonde both large & lange · trowe þou wel .t. with mode & mayn  
 blode sal vndir gange · vj thowsand of ynglych þer sal be sla[yn] 364  
 le .t. for now I go · I may no langer stande with þe  
 hondes breke þair leches in two · my raches shere hyr coples in thre 368  
 þone dere by two & two · holdes ouyr þone lange le

¶ Baners shall stande there A longe,  
Trowe þe wele, with Mode and Mayne;  
the bratones blode shall vndere gange,  
¹A thowsand englysche there shalbe  
slayne.

[¹ leaf 28, back]

fare wele, Thomas, I pray þou sese, 365  
I May no langere dwele with the;  
My greyhondes brekyng here leyse,  
And my Raches here Cowples a thre. 368

¶ Lo, where the dere, by two and ij,  
holdes owere yone Montayn hye!  
‘God forbeide!’ saide Thomas, ‘þou fro  
me go,

Or More of the warres þou tell me.’ 372

‘Of a batale I shall the say,  
that shall Make ladies morne in Mode:  
Bankes bourne, wattere and clay, 379  
Shall be Mengyd with Mannis blode;

¶ Stedes shall snapre throwght tresoun,  
Bothe bay and browne, bresyll and gray;  
Gentyll Knyghtes shall tumbell downe,  
thwgh takyn of A wrong way. 384  
Bretons blode shall vndere fall,  
the Ebruys there shall wyne the pray;

LANSDOWNE

þe bretans blode shalle vndur fall,  
þe brucys blode shalle wyn þe spray;  
vij thousynd Englysshe men, grete &  
smalle,

ther shalbe slayne, [þat] nyght and day.  
ffare wel, [tho]mas, [I] pray þe sees; 365  
No lengur here þou tary me;  
lowher my grayhoundis breke þer leesshe;  
My raches breke þeir coupuls in thre. 368  
lo, qwer þe dere goos be too & too,  
And holdis ouer þonde mownten hye!  
Thomas seid, ‘god [schilde thou] goo,

But tell me þet of sum ferly! 372

holde þi greyhoundis in þi h[onde],  
And coupil þi raches to a [tre:] [² leaf 125]  
²And lat þe dere reyke ouer þe londe;  
ther is a herde in holtely.’ 376

‘Off a batell I wil þe say,  
þat shalle gar ladies mourne in mode:  
At barnokys barne is watur & clay, 379  
þat shal be myngyd with mannys blode.  
And stedys shalle stumbuff for treson,  
bothe bay and brown, grisell & gray;  
And gentil knyghtis shalle tombuff down,  
thoro tokyn of þat wyckud way. 384  
the Bretans blode shalle vndur fall,  
the brutys blode shalle [wyn] þe spray;

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

say lady gode shelde þe go · abyde & tel me som ferle 372  
attel I can þe say · Sal gar ladies morn in mode

kes borne both water & clay · It sal be mengyd with rede blode 380  
[Stedes] sal stumbyl thugh tresoun · both bay & broun gresel & gray  
l knyghtes sal tumbyl down · for takyng of a wylsom way 384

Sex thowsand ynglysche, grete & smalee,  
 SaH there be slane, þat ilk a daye. 388  
 Than saH scotland kyngles stande;  
 Trow it wele, þat j the saye!  
 A tercelet, of the same lande,  
 To bretane saH take þe Redy waye, 392  
 And take *tercelettis* grete and graye,  
 With hym owte of his awene contree;  
 Thay saH wende on an ryche arraye,  
 And come agayne by land and see. 396  
 He saH stroye the northe contree,  
 Mare and lesse hym by-forne;  
 Ladyse saH saye, allas! & walowaye!  
 þat euer þat Royalle blode was borne.  
 He saH ryse vpe at kynke horne, 401  
 And tye þe chippis vn-to þe sande.  
 At dipplynge more, appone þe Morne,  
 Lordis wiH thyнке fuH lange to stande;  
 By-twix depplynge and the dales, 405  
 The watir þat rynnes one rede claye—  
 There saH be slayne, for sothe, Thomas,  
 Eleuene thowsandez scottis, þat nyghte  
 & daye.

ThaysaH take a townne of grete renownne,  
 þat standis nere the water of Tye; 410  
 þe ffadir & þe sone saH be dongene downe,  
 And with strakis strange be slayne a-waye.

THORNTON

vj thowsand Englishe, grete & small,  
 shalbe slayne þat ilk daye. 388  
 then shall scotland stande;  
 trowe thowe well, as I the saye!  
 a tarslet of the same land  
 to breten shall wynde þe redy waye; 392  
 & take tarslettes, grete & gaye,  
 with him, owte of his awne contree;  
 ther shall winde in riche araye, [leaf 7, back]  
 & comme agayne by land & seye. 396  
 he shall stroye þe northe contree,  
 moare & les him before;  
 lades, welawaye! shall crye,  
 þat euer þe baly of blud was borne. 400  
 he shall ryse vp at kynkborne,  
 & slaye lordes vpon the sand;  
 to foplynge moore, vpon þe morne,  
 lordes will think full longe to stand. 404  
 betwin þe depplinge & þe dasse—  
 þe water þer rennyng on þe red claye—  
 þer shalbe slayne, forsothe, thomas, 407  
 xi thowsand scottes, þat night & daye.

they shall take a towne of grete renownne,  
 that standethe neare þe water of taye;  
 the father & þe sonne shalbedongedowne,  
 with strokes stronge be slaine awaye. 412

SLOANE

COTTON .

w on al þat day · both by hynde & als be fore 398\*  
 s]al syng welaway · þat euyr þe balyolues blod was bore 400\*  
 nge kyngles be · trowe þou wele thomas as I þ<sup>e</sup> say  
 l take flyȝt & fle · to bruces lande þe redy way 392  
 seletes gret & gray · with hym of hys awn contree  
 n ryche aray · bothe by lande & eke by see 396

vij thousand ynglis, grete and smalle,      viij thousand englisemen, grete & small,  
In a day there shalbe slay.      388      ther shal be slayn, þat nyght & day.

¶ then shall scotland kyngles be,  
Trou þou well, that I the say !  
A tarslet shall take his flyght, & fle  
To bretons lande the Redy wey ;      392  
And take tarslettes grete and gray,  
With hym, oute of his lond ;  
he shall wende in A Ryche Aray,      395  
And come agayne by seye and londe.

¶ He shall stroye the north Contre,  
More and les hym be-forne ;  
Ladyes shall say ' waleway !  
that euer in scotland war we borne.' 400  
He shall Ryñ vt at kynges horñe,  
And sley lordis on the sonde ;      [leaf 29]  
At deplyng More vppoñ the Morowe,  
Lordesshall thynketherelong stonde. 404

¶ By twyxx duplyng and the gray stoñ,  
the water that Rynnes gray,  
there shalbe slaynev thousand englisemen,  
that nyght and that day.      408

And yet they shall take A walled Towñe ;  
the fader and the sone be slayñ away ;  
A knyght shall wyn the warisoun,  
with dynt of swerd for ones and ay. 412

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[397—400, *see above*]

vp at kynche horn ·      fele lordes vp on þe sande  
m]ore vp on þe morn · lordes sal thynke ful lang to stand      404  
ge] & a dale · þat water of Erne þat rynnes gray  
w[]th myche bale · x thowsand scottes a nyzt & a day      408  
wallyd toune · standynge ful nere þe water of tay

Whene þat hafe wonne þat wallede towne, when þei haue wonne þe walled towne,  
 [leaf 158]  
 And ylke mane hasecheuede þayre chauce, & euery man chosen his chaunce,  
<sup>1</sup>Than saH thir bretoñs make þame bowne, þe bretens they shall make þem bowne,  
 And fare forthe to þe werre of fraunce. & forthe to þe warres of Fraunce. 416  
 Than saH scotland kyng-lesse stande, þen shall scotland without kinge stand;  
 And be lefte, Thomas, als j the saye; beleve, thomas, as I the saye!  
 Than saH a kyng be chosene, so ȝynge, thei shall chuse a kinge full yonge,  
 That kane no lawes lede par faye: 420 þat can no lawes leade, parfaye; 420  
 Daudid, with care he saH be-gynne,  
 And with care he saH wende awaye.  
 Lordis & ladyse, more and Myne, 423  
 SaH come appone a riche araye,  
 And crowne hym at the towne of skyme, & crowned at þe towne of scone,  
 Appone an certane solempe daye. 426 on a serteine solemne daye. [leaf 8]  
 Beryns balde, bothe ȝonge and alde, birdes bolde, bothe olde & yonge,  
 SaH tiH hym drawe with-owtȝyne naye; shall to him drawe without naye; 428  
 Euyne he saH to ynglande ryde, into England shall thei ride,  
 Este and weste als lygges the waye. 430 easte, weste, as ligges the waye,  
 & take a towne with greate pride,  
 & let þe menn be slaine awaye. 432  
 Be-twixe a parke and an abbaye, betwixt a parke & an abbaye,  
 A palesse and a paresche kyrke, a pales & a parishe kirk,  
 Thare saH ȝour kyng faill of his praye, there shall your kinge faile of his praye,  
 And of his lyfe be wondir jrke. 436 & of his lyfe be full irk. 436  
 He saH be tane, so wondir sare, he shalbe taggud wunder sare,  
 So þat a-waye he saH noghte flee; so þat awaye he maye not fle;

THORNTON

SLOANE

## COTTON

yn a doun · with sore dyntes be kylled a way 412  
 n]ge þat is ful ȝynge · he kan no lawes lede parfay  
 he sal be gyn · with sorowe sal he wende a way 420  
 ppes both more & myn · al sal gedir to þer a ray  
 m]at þ' toun of scoyne · vp on þe trinyte Sunday 424  
 both ȝonge & alde · sall fal to hym with owtyn nay 428

¶ Whan they haue take that wallyd  
towne,

And euery man has chosyn his chaîns,  
the bretons blode shall make hym bone  
And fare to the warres of fraunce. 416

And then shall scotland be withoute kyng,  
Trowe the wele that I the sey!  
they shall chese a kyng full yonge,  
that can not lede no laweys, parfay. 420

¶ Daid, withoute care he shall begyne,  
And withoute care he shall wend away;  
Bysshoppes and lordes, More and myne,  
Shall come to hym in Ryche A Raye,  
And Crowne hym at A Towne of Scone,  
Forsothe vpon A Setterday. 426

Bornes blode shall wend to Rome,  
To get lyve of the pope yf they may. 428

¶ By twyخته a parke and ane Abbey,  
A palys and A perishe church,  
there shall that kyng fayll at his pray,  
And of his lyfe he shall be full yrke.  
He shall be togged, the wonde sore, 437  
that Away he maynot fle;

LANSDOWNE

þen shalle scotland kyngles be sen;  
trow þis wel, þat I þe say!  
And thei shalle chese a kyng ful 3ong,  
þat can no lawes lede, parfay: 420  
Robert, with care he shal be gynne,  
And also he shaʃt wynde away. 422

lordys and ladys, bothe olde & yongg,  
shalle draw to hym with outyn nay; 428  
And they with pryde to Englund ryde,  
Est and west þat liggys his way;  
And take a toune of mycul pryde,  
And sle [. . . . .] knyȝtes veray. 432  
Betwene a parke & an abbay, [leaf 125, back]  
A palys and a parissh kyrke,  
ther shalle þe kyng mys of his way,  
[And] of his life be fuʃt yrke. 436  
He shal be teyryd(?) ful wondur sore,  
So a way he may not fle;

CAMBRIDGE

#### COTTON

sal he holde · And bryn & sla al in hys way    extra  
sal he ryde · þar sal he þat ilke day  
þat wondes wyde · þat werne ful bolde in hyr aray 432  
ke & an abbay · a paleys & a paryshe kyrke  
a]yle of hys pray · & of hys lyfe he sal be yrke 436  
ke in . . . e ful sare · so þat a way he may not fle



Hys nebbe saß rynnne, or he thethyne fare,	his nebbe shall or he thenes fare,	
þe rede blode tryklelandevn-to his kn[ee].	of red blud, trikell to þe kne.	440
He saß þan be, with a false f . . .	he shall, with a false fode,	441
Be-trayede of his awene . . . .	[No break in the MS.]	
And wheþer it torne . . . . .	whither it turne to ivell or goode ;	
He saß hyde . . . . .	& he shall bide in a ravens hand.	444
þat rau . . . . .	the ravin shall þe Goshawke wynnne,	
Tho . . . . .	if his fethers be neuer so black ;	
. . . . .	& leide him strayte to London,	447
. . . . .	þer shall your fawcone fynde his make.	
[5 lines lost at foot of page in MS.]	þe ravin shall his fethers shake,	
. . . . .	& take tarslettes gaye & greate,	
. . . . .	with him, owte of his awne contre; [Inter- pol.]	
. . . . .	& þe kinge shall him M <sup>r</sup> make,	
In þe northe to do owtraye. [col. 2]	in þe northe to do owtraye.	452
And whene he es mane moste of Mayne,	when he is man of moste mayne, [u <sup>s</sup> , b <sup>k</sup> ]	
And hopis beste þane for to spede,	& hopes beste for to spede,	
On a ley lande saß he be slayne,	on a leye land he shalbe slayne,	
Be-syde a waye for-owttyne drede.	beside a waye without drede.	456
Sythene saß selle scotland, par ma faye,	then shall they sell in scotland, parfaye,	
fulle and fere, full many ane,	fowles & fee full many one,	
ffor to make a certane paye ;	for to make a sertein paye ;	459
Bot ende of it saß neuer come nane.	but end þer of commethe neuer none.	460
And þane saß scotland kyngles stande ;	þen shall scotland kingles stand ;	
Trowe this wele, þat j telle the !	trowe þou well, as I the saye !	
Thre tercelettis of þe same lande	iiij tarslettes, of that same land,	463

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

l ren with myche care · of rede blode doun to hy[s kne] 440  
 a fals fode · betrayed of hys awn lande  
 rn to euyl or gode · be seyd in to a raun[es hande] 444  
 . . goshauke wyn · be hyr fethyrs neuyr so [blake]  
 reght to london with hym · þer sal þour foule [fynd his make] 448  
 hyr fethyrs folde · & take þ<sup>r</sup> tarsletes [grete & gay]

<sup>1</sup>His nose shall Rynne, or he theñse go,      his neb shaß rise or he then fare,  
the blode shall trykle downe to his kne.      the red blode triklond to his knee. 440

¶ He shall, throwgñt a fals fode, 441  
Be betrayde of his owne lond ; [leaf 29, bk]

Wherere it turne to ewyll or good,  
He shall Abide a Rauenes honde. 444

the Rauyne shall the goshawke woym,  
thowgñt his fedres be neuer so blake ;  
And lede hym to London Towne, 447  
there shall the goshawke fynd his Make.

¶ þe Rawyn shall his fedres shake,  
And take tasletis grete and gay ;

the kyng shall hym Maister Make,  
In the north for to do outray. 452

And whan he is most in his mayñ,  
And best wenes for to spede,  
On a ley londe he shall be slayn,  
By side away without dred. 456

¶ And than most scotland, parfay,  
By se & land, mony one,  
For Dauid make certayn pay ; 459  
But end of hym commyth neuer none.

then most scotland kyngles stond ;  
Trowe the wele, þat I say the !  
A taslet of A nother land. 463

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

## COTTON

hym maystyr bold · In þe north [sal he do owtray] 452

[? 2 lines lost at top of page.]

[leaf 24B, back]

. en of dauy[d] 459. —

sall ryde & go hyr wa[y] ?

þan sal scotlande kyngles 461. —

thre lordes of þat same londe 463. —

Saif stryfe to bygg & browke þe tree.	to breten þen shall wend þer waye.	464
He saif bygg & browke the tree,	he shall bigge & breake þe tre,	
That hase no flyghte to fley a-waye;	þat hathe no flight to fle away,	466

Thay saif with pryde to y[n]gland ryde,	þai shall, with pride, to england fre,	
Este & weste als lygges þe waye.	easte & weste as lygges þe waye.	472
Haly kyrke bese sett be-syde,	holy kirk be sett beside,	
Relygyous byrnede on a fyre;	& religious men burne in fyre;	
Sythene saif þay to a castelle gl[yde],	thei shall to a castell glide,	
And schewe þame þare with . . .	& shewe þem there with mykell ire.	476
By-syde a wyth . . . . .	betwixt a well & a weare,	
A wh[yt] . . . . .	a withwell & a slyke stone,	
. . . . .	þer shall ij cheftens mete in fere,	
. . . . .	the on shall doughtles be slayne.	480
. . . . .		

. . . . .	the brusse blud shall with him fle,	
. . . . .	& leade him to a worthi towne;	
[10 lines lost at foot of page in MS.]	and close him in a castell lyght,	[leaf 9]
. . . . .	theare to be with greate renowme.	[Inter- pol.]
. . . . .	Farewell, I wend my waye;	
. . . . .	me behoves ouer yonder bent so browne,	
. . . . .	here endethe þe ij <sup>d</sup> fytt, I saye,	
. . . . .	of sir thomas of Arseldon.	488

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

þat hath no flyzt to fle a way · In to [yng	466 . 471
& bryn & sla day by day · To a towre þan	472 . 475
And hald þer in myche ire · holychyrche is set	476 . 473
relegious pai bryn hym in a fyre	474
hytwys a wethy & a water · a well & a haly stane	

Shall pryue & bygge, & browke þat tre.

¶ He shall bygge, and broke þat tre  
He toke his flygh, & flye A wey ;

Robert steward kyng shalbe 467  
of scotland, and Regne mony A day.

<sup>1</sup>A cheuanteyne then shall ryse *with* pride,  
of all scotland shall bere the floure ;  
he shall into Englonde Ride, [leaf 30]  
And make men haue full sharpe schoure.

¶ holy chirche to set on syde, 473  
And religyons to bren on fyre ;  
he shall to the new castell Ryde,  
And shew hym there *with* grete Ire. 476

By twyx A wey of water,  
A well, & A grey stone,  
there cheuanteynes shall mete on fere,  
And that o dowghty ther shall be slayne.

¶ that other cheuanteyne shall there  
be tayne, 481  
And proude blode *with* the hyme shall fle,  
And lede hyme tyll A worthe Towne,  
And close hym vp in A castell hye. 484

be twene A wycked way & A watur, 477  
A parke and A stony way then ;  
ther shal a cheften mete *in* fere,  
A ful dutye þer shal be slayn. 480  
the *todur* cheftan shal be tane,

A pesans of blode hyme shal slee ;  
And lede hym a[w]ay in won,  
And cloyse hym *in* a casteH hee. 484

Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way ;  
Me bus ouer your brutes broȝe.  
here is a fote ; anoþer to sey,  
of Thomas of Assilldone. 488

ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;  
ffor I must ouer 3ond . . bentis brown.  
here ar twoo fyttis ; on is to say,  
Off Thomas of Erseldown. 488

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þer sal two chyftans met in fere · þ<sup>e</sup> doglas þer sall be s[l 480  
A tarslet sal *in* halde be tane · chyftans a way *with* hym  
& lede hym to an hold of stane · & close hym in a castel [h 484  
Whar wele thomas I wend my way · me most ouyr 3one be  
anoþer fyt more is to say · of þe prophecy of arseldoun 488

## [FYTT THE THIRD.]

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 152, back]

1<sup>1</sup> **N**owe, luffy lady, gente and hende,  
 Telle me, ȝif it thi willis bee,  
 Of thyes BateHs, how þay schaff  
 ende,

And whate schaffe worthe of this northe  
 countre ?' 492

'This worlde, Thomas, sothely to telle,  
 Es noghte bot wandrethe & woghe !  
 Of a bateHe j wiȝ the telle, 495  
 Thatschaff bedonzeatspynkardecloghe :  
 The bretons blode schaffe vnder falle,  
 The bruyse blode schaffe wyne þe spraye ;  
 Sex thowsande ynglysche, grete & smaHe,  
 SaHe thare be slayne þat nyghte & daye.  
 The rerewarde saȝ noghte weite, parfaye,  
 Of that jlke dulfuHe dede ; 502  
 Thay saȝ make a grete journeye,  
 Dayes tene with-owttyne drede.  
 And of a bateHe j wiȝ þe telle, 505  
 That saȝ be donne now sone at wiȝ :  
 Beryns saȝ mete, bothe ferse & felle,  
 And freschely fyghte at pentland hyȝ.  
 By-twyx Sembery & pentlande, 509  
 þe hauHe þat standis appone þe rede  
 claye—

THORNTON

## [FYTTE THE THIRD.]

'thies wordes, thomas, þat I saye,  
 is but wanderyng & wough ;  
 of a battell I shall the tell,  
 that shalbe done at Spenkard slough : 496  
 the bretons blud shall vnder fall,  
 the brusse blud shall wyne þe praye ;  
 vij thowsand englishe, grete & small,  
 shalbe slayne þat ilk daye. 500  
 the reareward shall not witt, parfaye,  
 of þat same dolfull dede ;  
 thei shall make a grete iornaye,  
 dayes x without drede. 504  
 of a battell I will you tell,  
 that shalbe done sonne at will :  
 barons shall mete, bothe fyers & fell,  
 & fyersly fight at Eldon hill. 508  
 betwin Edynburgh & Pentland,  
 at þe hall þat standethe on þe redd claye,

SLOANE

COTTON

## [FYT THE THIRD]

**F**ar wel thomas I wende my way · me most ouyr ȝone bro . .  
 sothly .t. I þe say · men sal haf rome ryȝt ny þaire dor 492  
 Sothly .t. as I þe say · þis world sal stond on a wondir w  
 of a batel tel I þe may · þat sal be don at spynkar cl 496  
 þ<sup>o</sup> gret wreth sal not persayuyd be · of þat gret vnk . .

## [FOTE THE THIRD.]

## [FYTTE THE THIRD.]

¶ 'Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way;  
I may no longer duell *with* the.'  
yet, louely lady, goode and gey,

Abyde, & tell me more ferele !' 492

'And þus, thomas, truly to tell,  
hyt Is wondrand & wow;  
but of a batyll I shall the tell,  
that shall be don at spincar clow : 496

¶ the bretonys blode there shall vnder-  
the Ebrues ther shall wyn the pray; [fall,  
v thousand yngleff there, gret & small,  
In a sunday mornynge shall be slay. 500  
the fowarde shall not wit, parfey,  
Certeyn of that dolfull dede;  
they shall make agayne a grete Iorney,  
Dayes x withouten drede. 504

[leaf 30, back] [lond  
¶ Bytwix Eden brought and the Pent-  
the hall that stond on the Rede glay—

'Thomas, truly I þe say,  
þe worlde is wondur wankill !  
Off þe next batell I wyll the say,  
that shal be done at spynard [?] hiH : 496  
the brucis blode shall vndur fall,  
the brettens blode schall wyn [the spray;]  
xiiij thousand þer shal be slayne, [leaf 126]  
Off scottisshe men þat nyght & day. 500

Off the next batell I wil þe telle,  
þat shal be done sone at wiH :  
Barons bothe flesshe & feH  
shalle fresshely fyzt at pentland hyll. 508  
but when pentland & edynborow,  
And þe hill þat standis on þe red cley,

## LANSDOWNE

## CAMBRIDGE

## COTTON

v. thowsande slayn sal be · of scottes men <i>with</i> outyn	500
Fare wele .t. I wend my way · I may no langer stand	
louely lady gentyl & gay · a byde & tel me more f	504
Of a batel I can þe tell · þat sal be done hastely at	
bernes sal met both fryk & fel · & fresshely fyzt at	508
by twys edynburgh & pentlande · an hyl þer stand	
ERCILDOUN.	3

There schaff be slayne Eleuene thowsande  
[Of scot]tis mene, þat nyghte & daye.

. . . . . a townne, of grete renowne,

. . . . . e water of Tye 514

. . . . .

. . . . .

. . . . .

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[13 lines lost at foot of page in MS.]

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. . . . .

. . . . .

The toþer oste at barboke. [col. 2] 528

fforryours furthe saff flee,

On a Sonondaye, by-fore þe messee;

Seuene thowsandes sothely saff be slayne,

One aythir partye, more and lesse. 532

ffor þer saff be no baneres presse,

Bot ferre in sondir saff thay bee;

Carefull saff be þe after mese, 535

THORNTON

there shalbe slayne xij thowsand,  
forsothe, of scottes, þat night & daye. 512

thei shall take a walled townne, [leaf 2, b]

<sup>1</sup>the father & þe sonne bene slayne awaye;

knighes shall wyne þer warysone,

thurghe dynt of sword for euer & aye. 516

when þei haue wonne the wallid townne,

and euery mann chosen his chaunce,

the bretens þen shall make them bowne,

and forthe to þe warres of Fraunce. 520

thei shalbe in fraunce full

thomas, I saye, iij yeares & mare;

and dyngedowne tower3, & castelles

to euery mann in sonder fare. [stronge,

then shall thei be bought full stronge,

betwixt Seiton & þe seye;

the bretens shalbe þe greaves amonge,

the other este at Barwik fre. 528

[No break in the MS.]

on a Sondag before þe masse,

v thowsand sothely slayne shalbe,

of brusse blud, bothe moare & les. 532

for þat daye shuld no baner3 presse,

but farr in sonder shall thei be;

carefull shalbe the enter messe,

SLOANE

COTTON

þer sal be slayn twelf þowsande · of Scottes [m 512

þan sal þai take a wallyd toun · fadir & [s

knȳȳtes of yngland wyn þair warysoun · th 516

whan þai haf tak þis wallyd toun · & ich man hath

hym to hys chance · þan sal þe bretons make

& fare in to þe werres of fraunce 520

there shall be slayne vij m<sup>1</sup> vij thousande shal be slayn pere, 511  
 of scottes men, that nyght & day. 512 Off scottisshe men þat nyght & day.  
 And þet they shall take A walled Towne  
 that stonde on the water of Tay;  
 knyghtes shall wyne the waryson, 515  
 By dyntes of swerde for ones & Aye.

¶ And whan they haue toke þat walled  
 townne,

And eche man hathe take his chaunce,  
 the britons blode shall make hym bounne,  
 And fare agan to werres of fraunce. 520  
 then shall they be in fraunce full longe;  
 Thomas, iij yere & more; [stronge,  
 And dyng downe castellis & towres  
 And then shall euery man home fare. 524

¶ they shall mete, boþe fers & stronge,  
 By twyx Cetoñ and the see;  
 the englyshe shall ly in craggis amonge,  
 That othere oste at barkle. 528  
 A sore semble there shall be,  
 On a sonday by fore the Masse;  
 v thousand shalne<sup>1</sup> shall be, [1 þ slayne]  
 of bothe partes more & lesse. 532

¶ For there shall no baner presse,  
 Bot fer in sundre shall they be;  
 Carefull shall be there last Masse,

LANSDOWNE

then shalle they met, bathe stiff & strong,  
 Betwene seton and þe see;  
 the englisshe shalle lyg þe cragys among,  
 the topur at þe est banke falleþ hye. 528  
 the fflorence forth shall fare,  
 Vpon a sonday before the masse;  
 v thousande þer shalbe slayne,  
 off bothe partyes more and lesse. 532  
 ffor þat þer shaft no barrons presse,  
 but fer asondur shalle they be;  
 Carfull shalbe þe furst masse,

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þaj sal be in fraunce ful lang · sothly .t. thre 3er  
 & bet doun tounes & castels strange · to do owtr 524  
 þan sal þai mete both styf & strang · by twys Seton  
 þ<sup>e</sup> Inglyshe sal lyg þe craggas amang · þ<sup>e</sup> frenshe 528  
 [freres] fast a way sal fle · On a sonday be for þe  
 · thowsande slayn sal be · of bernes both m 532  
 [þer] sal no man wyn þ<sup>e</sup> prise · sertenly þis I tell þ



By-twixe Cetone and þe See.

Schippis saß stande appone þe Sande,  
Wayffande *with þe* Sees fame; 538  
Thre ȝere and mare, þan saß þay stande,  
Or any beryne come foche þame hame.  
Stedis awaye Maysterles saß flynge,  
Ouer þe Mountans too and fraa;  
Thaire sadihs one þaire bakkis saß hyngē,  
Vn-to þe garthis be rotyne in twaa. 544  
ȝitt saß þay hewe one aße þe daye,  
Vn-to þe sonne be sett nere weste;  
Bot þer es no wighte þat ȝitt wiete maye,  
Wheþer of thayme saß hafe þe beste.  
Thay saß plante downe þaire thare, 549

Worthi mene al nyghte saß dye;  
Bot One þe Morne þer saß be care,  
ffor nowþer syde saß hafe þe gree. 552  
Than saß þay take a trewe, and swere,  
ffor thre ȝere & more, j vndirstande,  
þat nane of þame saß oþer dere,  
[Nowþer] by See ne ȝitt by lande. 556  
. . . . . saynte Marye dayes  
. . . . . d]ayes lange  
. . . . . Baners rayse  
. . . . . e lande 560

THORNTON

betwin seytons & þe seye, 536  
of þe brusse, bothe moare & les. [Interpo-  
lation]  
shipp; shall stand vpon the sande,  
wavand *with þe* seye fome,  
thre yeares & moare, vnderstand, [leaf 10]  
or any barons fetcche them home 540  
steades maisterles shall flynge,  
to the mountains to & fro;  
þer sadel; on þer backes hyngē,  
till þer girthes be rotten in to. 544  
thei shall hewe on helme & sheld,  
to þe sonne be sett neare weste;  
no mann shall witt, in þat fyeld,  
whithether partie shall haue þe besta. 548  
thei shall caste downe banner; there;

wonden many one þat night shall dye;  
vpon the morne there shalbe care,  
for neither partie shall haue þe degre. 552  
thei shall take a trewe, & sware,  
iij yeares & moare, I vnderstand,  
þat none of them shall other dare,  
neither by water ne by land. 556  
betwin ij Saint mary dayes,  
when þe tyme waxethe longe, 558  
then shall thei mete, & banner; raise,  
on claydon moore, bothe styf & stronge.

SLOANE

COTTON

[. . . . .] sal þ<sup>t</sup> ost be aftyr mes · by twys seton & 536  
[Shi]ppes sal be on þe strande · wallyng *with þe* s  
T[hr]e ȝer & more þer sal þai stande · no man . . . . . to f 540  
[Sted]es maysterles a way sall flynge · to þe mountt . . .  
[Sadels on] hyr bakkes sall hyngē · to þe gyrthes be 544

Bytwyxc ceton &amp; the see.

536 be twene seton &amp; the see.

536

Shippes shall stonde ther on þe sonde,  
 hem selfe mene the the fome ;  
 Seue yere & more theyr shall they stonde  
 And no barne shall bryng hem home. 540

<sup>1</sup>¶ And stedes shall maisterles fleng  
 To the Montayns them fro ; <sup>[<sup>1</sup> leaf 51]</sup>  
 the sadles shall on ther bakes hyng,  
 Thyll þe gerthes be rotten them fro. 544  
 they shall hewe on, all that day,  
 Tyll the sonne be sett west ;  
 ther is no man, that wete may,  
 which of them shall haue the best. 548

þen shalle þei [fezt] with helmys & shyldes  
 there, <sup>[away ;</sup>  
 And woundyt men al eneglych shal rone  
 but on þe morne þer schal be care,  
 ffor nedyr [side] shaH haue þe gree. 552  
<sup>2</sup>Then shalle þei take a truce & swere,  
 thre 3ere and more, I vnderstonde ;  
 þer nouþer side shalle odir dere, <sup>[<sup>2</sup> leaf 126,  
back]</sup>  
 Nouþer be se nor be londe. 556  
 betwene twoo seynt mary dayes,  
 When þe tyme waxis nere long,  
 then shalle thei mete, and banerse rese,  
 In gleydes more, þat is so long. 560

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[þai sal plantt] doun hir baners þar · & wondid men s  
 [þis is þe] begynnyng [of þer] care · whan nouþer party sa 548  
 [þen sal þai] take a trew & swere · thre 3er & more 554  
 [þat none of] þem sal [oþer dere · nouþer] by se  
 [. . . . .] saynt mary dayes · [when] þe da 558  
 [. . . . .] 560

. . . . .  
[7 lines lost at foot of page in MS.]

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
1 Bot wiete wele, Thomas, he saH fynd  
nan[e]. [leaf 153] 572

He saH lyghte, whare þe crosse solde bee,  
And holde his nebbe vp to the skye;  
And drynke of gentiH blode and free;  
þane ladys, waylowaye, saH crye. 576  
Ther saH a lorde come to þat werre,  
þat saH be of fuH grete renown[ne];  
And in his Banere saH he bere,  
Triste it wele, a rede lyone. 580

Thar saH anoper come to þat werr[e];  
þat saH fyghte fuH fayre in [ ]  
And in his banere saH he ber[e] 583  
A Schippe with an ankyre of golde.  
3itt saH an oper come to þat werre,  
þat es noghte knawene by northe n[e]  
southe]; 586

And in his Banere saH he bere  
A wolfe with a nakede childe in his  
mo[uthe].  
3itt saH þe ferthe lorde come to þat w[erre],  
þat saH grete Maystries after ma[ke];  
And in his B[anere sa]H he b[er]e  
The bere . . . . . 592

THORNTON

iiij crowned kinges, with dyntes sore,  
shalbe slayne, & vnder be.  
a Raven shall comene ouer þe moore;  
and after him a crowe shalle flee, 568  
to seke þe moore, without reste,  
after a crosse is made of stone, [leaf 10, back]  
ouer hill & dale, bothe easte & weste;  
but trowe þou well, he shall fynde none.

he shall lyght wheare þe crosse shuld be,  
& holde his nebbe into þe skye;  
& drynk of ientle blud & fre, 575  
of doughti knightes þat downe shall lye.

SLOANE

[Lines 577-604 not in this MS.]

Gladysmore, þat gladis vs aþ,  
 This is begynyng of oure gle;  
 gret sorow þen shaft fall,  
 Wher rest and pees were wont to be. 564  
 Crowned kyngus þer shal be slayn,  
 With dyntis sore, and wondur se;  
 Out of a more a rauen shaft cum;  
 And of hym a schrew shall flye, 568  
 And seke þe more, with owten rest,  
 Aftur a crosse is made of ston;  
 Hye and low, boþ est and west,  
 But vp he shaft [fynde] non. 572

He shalle lizt þer the crosse shuld be,  
 And holde his neb vp to þe skye;  
 And he shaft drynk of [     ],  
 Ladys shaHe cry welaway! 576

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

[*Lines 577-604 in no MS. but the Thornton.*]

COTTON

[5 lines lost at top of page.]

[leaf 243]

[fynd no] 572

neb vp to þe sky 574

[w]elaway sal cry 576

[*Lines 577-604 not in this MS.*]

And þa . . . . .		
Wh . . . . .		
Bot . . . . .		
þer . . . . .	596	
An . . . . .		
Th . . . . .		
þe . . . . .		
An . . . . .	600	
Be . . . . .		
Wh . . . . .		
Th . . . . .		
The . . . . .	604	
þa . . . . .		frely þei shall fight þat daye, 605
V . . . . .	606	to þat þe sonne be sett neare weste ;
. . . . .		none of them shall witt, I saye,
[4 lines entirely lost at bottom of column.]		whither partie shall haue þe beste. 608
. . . . .		a basted shall comme owte of a fforreste,
. . . . .		in sothe england borne shalbe—
[col. 2] . . . . .		he shall wynne þe gre for þe beste,
. . . . .		& all þe land after bretens shalbe. 612
. . . . .		then he shall into England ryde,
. . . . .		easte weste, as we heare sayne. 614
. . . . .		
[Col. 2 entirely torn off.]		
. . . . .		all false lawes he shall laye downe,
. . . . .		þat ar begonne in þat contre ;
. . . . .		trewthe to do, he shalbe bone,
. . . . .		& all þe land, after, bretens shalbe. 620

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

sunn]e syt euyn weste  
w]yt may · whethir party sal hafe þe best 608  
of þe forest · In south yngland born sal be  
f]or best · And al ledes bretayns sal be 612

<p>¶ A basterd shall come out of the west,          And there he shall wyne the gre;          he shall bothe Est and west,          And all the lond breton shall be. 612          he shall In to Englonde Ryde,          Est and west in hys tyme;          And holde A parliament of moche pryde,          that neuere no parliament by forewasseyne.          And fals lawes he shall ley doune, 617          that ar goyng in that countre;          And treu workes he shall begyn,          And bothe londes bretton shalbe. 620</p>	<p>þen shal they fyt with he[lme &amp;] schilde,          Vnto þe sun be set nere west; [leaf 157]          þer is no wyzt in þat fylde, 607          þat wottis qwykke side shaft haue þe best.          A bastarde shal cum fro a forest,—          Not in ynglond borne shaft he be;—          And he shalle wyn þe gre for þe best,          Alle men leder of bretan shal he be. 612          And with pride to ynglond ride,          Est and west as . . . layde          And holde a parlement w[. . . . .]          Where neuere non before was sayd 616          Alle false lawes he [shalle laye doune],          þat ar begune in þat cuntre;          Truly to wyrke, he shal be boune;          And alle leder of bretans shal he be. 620</p>
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LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

<p>s]al he ryde · est &amp; west with myche tene          ment with myche pryde · þ<sup>t</sup> neuyr non sych be for was sene 616          es he sal dyng down · þat wer begun in hys cuntre          o wirke he sal be bown · trewly thomas as I tell þe 620</p>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------



And thus is that I you tell ;  
 belefe it wele euery word !  
 And of A baytale I wote full wele,  
 that shalbe done at Sawdyngford. 624  
 By that forde there is a bro,  
 And by that bro ther is A well :  
 A stone there is a lityll there fro ;  
 And by the stone sothe to tell, 628  
 And at þat stone Ar craggis iij, 629

[The MS. here ends abruptly though  
 there is more room on the page.]

þe bastarde shal get hym power strong,  
 And alle his foes he shall doun dyng ;  
 Off alle þe v kyngus landis,  
 þer shal non bad[word] home bryng. 640  
 þe bastard shal dye in þe holy land ;—  
 Trow þis wel [I] þe sey ;—  
 Take his sowle to his hond,  
 Ihesu criste, [that] mycuht may ! 644  
 Thomas, [truly] I þe say,  
 þis is [trewth] ylke a worde !  
 Off þat laste battel I þe say,  
<sup>1</sup>It [shall] be done at Sandeford : 624  
 Nere sendyforth þer is a wroo, [14127, bk]  
 And nere þat wro is a weh ;  
 A [ston] þer is þe wel euen fro ;  
 And nere þe wel, truly to tell, 628  
 On þat grounde þer groeth okys thre,  
 And is called sondyford ;  
 þer þe last battel done shal be,  
 Thomas, trow þou ilke a worde.' 632  
 þen she seid with heuy chere ;  
 þe terys ran out of hir een grey.

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

owe þis ful wele · þat þis is soth euery worde  
 [Of a bate] I can þe telle · þat sal be done at Sandyforde 624  
 [Nere þe] forde þar is a bro · & nere þe bro þer is a well  
 standes þe welle eyn fro · & nere it a ston sothely to tell 628  
 [& nere] þat ston growith okes thre · þat men call sandyforde  
 [þar þe la]st batel don sal be · thomas trowe þou wele þis euery worde 632  
 e]s & clyffordes in werre sal be · In bruces lande thre ȝere & more  
 n) tones & castels fre · to do owtray þai sal not spare 636  
 e] þat I þe say · þe bastard sal de in þe holy lande  
 þou wele may · sese hys sawle into þi hande 644  
 d with mych care · þe teres ran doun of hyr eyn grey



þou wepe so sare · take þi houndes & wende þi wey 648  
 my way wending · sothly thomas as I þe say  
 e]s sal wed ladyes with ryng · Whan hyr lordes be slain [away 652  
 des in stabil fed · a fayr goshawk to hys hande  
 to hys bed · hys kyn be fore had neuyr lande 656  
 m]as & wele þe be · al þis day þou wil me mare  
 · of blake aunes of Dunbare 660

'lady, or þou wepe so sore,  
 Take þi houndis & wend þi way!' 648  
 'I wepe not for my way walkyng,  
 Thomas, truly I þe say;  
 But fer ladys, shaft wed laddys 3ong,  
 When þer lordis ar ded away. 652  
 He shaft haue a stede in stabul fed,  
 A hauk to beyre vpon his hond;  
 A bright lady to his [bed],  
 þat be fore had none [londe]. 656  
 ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way;  
 Alle þis day þou wil me [mar]!',  
 'Lufly lady, tel þou me,  
 Off blake Agnes of Don[bar]; 660  
 'And why she haue gyven me þe warre,  
 And put me in hir prison depe; [<sup>leaf 128</sup>]  
 ffor I wolde dwel with hir,  
 And kepe hir ploos and hir she[pe].' 664  
 'Off blak Agnes cum neuer gode:  
 Wher for, thomas, she may not the;  
 ffor al hir welth and hir wordly gode,  
 In london cloyssed shal she be. 668  
 þer preuissie neuer gode of hir blode;  
 In a dyke þen shaft she dye;  
 Houndis of hir shaft haue þer fode,  
 Magrat of all hir kyng of le.' 672

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þe war & put me depe in hyr prisoun  
 with hyr · sothely lady at arsyldoun 664  
 e] neuyr gode · thomas sche may do not to þe  
 & wordely gode · In london sal she closyd be 668  
 xt of hyr blode · In a foule dyke sal sche dye  
 r sal hafe her fode · mawgre of al hyr kyn & she 672

. . . . . thomas, drere mann was he,  
 . . . . . teares fell ouer his eyen so graye.  
 . . . . . 'nowe, lovly lady, tell pou me,  
 . . . . . if we shall parte for euer & aye!' 676  
 . . . . . [leaf 153, back, col. 2] 'naye!' she saide, 'thomas, parde,  
 To huntlee bañkkis pou take the way[e]; when thowe sitteste in Arseldon,  
 [T]here saH j sekirly be bowne, 679 to hontley bankis pou take þe waye;  
 [And] mete the Thomas whene j maye. þer shall I sykerly to the recomme. 680  
 [lines 681-4 found only in Cotton MS.]  
 [I sa]H the kenne where euer thou gaa, I shall reken, wheare euer I goo, 685  
 [To ber]e þe pryce of curtaysye; 686 to beare the price of curtese.' 686  
 [For tu]nge es wele, & tunge es waa,  
 [And tun]ge es chefe of Mynstrallsye.'  
 [lines 689-692 found only in Cotton MS.]  
 [Scho ble]we hir horne on hir palfraye,  
 [And left]e Thomas vndir-nethe a tre;  
 [To Helmesd]ale scho tuke the waye;  
 [And thus] departede scho and hee! and thus departid she & he! 696  
 [Of swilke] an hird mane wolde j here, Finia.  
 [þat couth] Me teHe of swilke ferly. 698  
 [Ihesu], corounde with a crowne of brere,  
 [Bry]nge vs to his heuene So hyee!  
 amene, amene. 700

Explicit Thomas  
 Of Erseledownne

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

a drery man was he · þ<sup>e</sup> teres ran of his eyn grey  
 y tel pou me · if we sal part for onys & ay 676  
 at arseldoun · to huntly bankes tak þi way  
 edy bound · to mete þe þar if þat I may 680  
 ende my way · I may no langer stande with þe  
 þe pray · tel neuyr þ<sup>i</sup> frendes at home of me 684  
 y a lady fre · I sal þe comfort wher þat pou go

þen Thomas, a sory man was he,  
 þe terys ran out of his een gray;  
 'luffly lady, ȝet [tell þou] me,  
 If we shaȝt parte for euer and ay!' 676  
 'Nay! when þou sitt[es] at erseldown,  
 To hunteley [bankes] þou take thi way;  
 And þer shal I be redy bowne,  
 To mete þe thomas, if þat I may.' 680

She blew [hir] horne, on hir palfray,  
 And leff[fed] thomas at eldryn tre;  
 Til helmesdale she toke þe way; [Or 122, 123]  
 thus departed þat lady and he! 696  
 Off such a woman wold I here,  
 That couth telle me of such ferly!  
 Ihesu, crowned with thorne so clere,  
 Bryng vs to thi haȝt on hye! 700

Explicit

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

profe of curtasy · tong is weke & tong is wo 688  
 e of mynstralsey · tong is water & tong is wyne  
 [Tong is che]fe of melody · & tong is thyng þat fast wil bynd 692  
 [þen went] forth þat lady gay · vpon hyr wayes for to w[ende]  
 [She blewe hi]r horn on hyr palfray · & lefte thomas vndir a [tre] 696  
 man wold I here · þat couth tel more of þis ferly  
 kyng so clere · bryng vs to þi halle [on hye] 700  
 [Explicit prop]hecia thome de Arseldouns

. . . . .  
[7 lines lost at foot of page in MS.]

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Bot wiete wele, Thomas, he saH fynd  
nan[e]. [leaf 158] 572

He saH lyghte, whare þe crose solde bee,  
And holde his nebbe vp to the skye;  
And drynke of gentill blode and free;  
þane ladys, waylowaye, saH crye. 576

Ther saH a lorde come to þat werre,  
þat saH be of full grete renown[ne];  
And in his Banere saH he bere,  
Triste it wele, a rede lyone. 580

Thar saH anoper come to þat werr[e];  
þat saH fyghte full fayre in [ ]  
And in his banere saH he ber[e] 583

A Schippe with an ankyre of golde.  
þitt saH an oper come to þat werre,  
þat es noghte knawene by northe n[e]  
southe; 586

And in his Banere saH he bere  
A wolfe with a nakede childe in his  
mo[uthe].

þitt saH þe ferthe lorde come to þat w[erre],  
þat saH grete Maystries after ma[ke];  
And in his B[anere sa]H he b[er]e  
The bere . . . . . 592

THORNTON

iiij crowned kinges, with dyntes sore,  
shalbe slayne, & vnder be.  
a Raven shall comen ouer þe moore;  
and after him a crowe shalle flee, 568  
to seke þe moore, without reste,  
after a crosse is made of stone, [leaf 10, back]  
ouer hill & dale, bothe easte & weste;  
but trowe þou well, he shall fynde none.

he shall lyght wheare þe crose shuld be,  
& holde his nebbe into þe skye;  
& drynk of ientle blud & fre, 575  
of doughti knightes þat downe shall lye.

SLOANE

[Lines 577-604 not in this MS.]

Gladysmore, þat gladis vs aft,  
 This is begynnyng of oure gle;  
 gret sorow þen shaft fall,  
 Wher rest and pees were wont to be. 564  
 Crowned kyngus þer shal be slayn,  
 With dyntis sore, and wondur se;  
 Out of a more a rauen shaft cum;  
 And of hym a schrew shall flye, 568  
 And seke þe more, with owten rest,  
 Aftur a crosse is made of ston;  
 Hye and low, boþ est and west,  
 But vp he shaft [fynde] non. 572

He shalle lizt þer the crosse shuld be,  
 And holde his neb vp to þe skye;  
 And he shaft drynk of [     ],  
 Ladys shaHe cry welawey! 576

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

[*Lines 577-604 in no MS. but the Thornton.*]

COTTON

[*5 lines lost at top of page.*]

[leaf 243]

[fynd no] 572

neb vp to þe sky 574

[w]elaway sal cry 576

[*Lines 577-604 not in this MS.*]

And þa . . . . .		
Wh . . . . .		
Bot . . . . .		
þer . . . . .	596	
An . . . . .		
Th . . . . .		
þe . . . . .		
An . . . . .	600	
Be . . . . .		
Wh . . . . .		
Th . . . . .		
The . . . . .	604	
þa . . . . .		frely þei shall fight þat daye, 605
V . . . . .	606	to þat þe sonne be sett neare weste ;
. . . . .		none of them shall witt, I saye,
[4 lines entirely lost at bottom of column.]		whither partie shall haue þe beste. 608
. . . . .		a basted shall comme owte of a fforreste,
. . . . .		in sothe england borne shalbe—
[col. 2] . . . . .		he shall wynne þe gre for þe beste,
. . . . .		& all þe land after bretens shalbe. 612
. . . . .		then he shall into England ryde,
. . . . .		easte weste, as we heare sayne. 614
. . . . .		
[Col. 2 entirely torn off.]		
. . . . .		all false lawes he shall laye downe,
. . . . .		þat ar begonne in þat contre ;
. . . . .		trewthe to do, he shalbe bone,
. . . . .		& all þe land, after, bretens shalbe. 620

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

sunn]e syt euyn weste  
 w]yt may · whethir party sal hafe þe best 608  
 of þe forest · In south yngland born sal be  
 f]or best · And al ledes bretayns sal be 612

<p>¶ A basterd shall come out of the west,          And there he shall wyne the gre;          he shall bothe Est and west,          And all the lond breton shall be. 612          he shall In to Englonde Ryde,          Est and west in hys tyme;          And holde A parliament of moche pryde,          that neuern no parliament by fore wasseyne.          And fals lawes he shall ley doune, 617          that ar goyng in that countre;          And treu workes he shall begyn,          And bothe londes bretton shalbe. 620</p>	<p>þen shal they fyt with he[lme &amp;] schilde,          Vnto þe sun be set nere west; [leaf 117]          þer is no wyzt in þat fylde, 607          þat wottis qwykke side shaft haue þe best.          A bastarde shal cum fro a forest,—          Not in ynglond borne shaft he be;—          And he shalle wyn þe gre for þe best,          Alle men leder of bretan shal he be. 612          And with pride to ynglond ride,          Est and west as . . . layde          And holde a parlement w[. . . . .]          Where neuern non before was sayd 616          Alle false lawes he [shalle laye doune],          þat ar begune in þat cuntre;          Truly to wyrke, he shal be boune;          And alle leder of bretans shal he be. 620</p>
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LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

## COTTON

<p>s]al he ryde · est &amp; west with myche tene          ment with myche pryde · þ<sup>t</sup> neuyn non sych be for was sene 616          es he sal dyng down · þat wer begun in hys cuntre          o wirke he sal be bown · trewly thomas as I tell þe 620</p>	<p></p>
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## APPENDIX II.

## "THE PROPHISIES OF RYMOUR, BEID, AND MARLYNG:"

AN ENGLISH PROPHECY.

[Lansdowne MS. 762, leaf 75, collated with Rawl. MS. C. 813, leaf 72, back.]

WELL on my way as I forth wente  
ouer a londe beside a lee,  
I met with<sup>1</sup> a baron<sup>2</sup> vpon a bente,  
Me thought hym semely for to see. 4  
I prayed hym with good entente  
To abide awhile and speke with me:  
Som vncowth tidynges [in] verament  
<sup>3</sup>That he wolde tell me ij or iij.<sup>3</sup> 8

'Whan shall all these warres be gone<sup>4</sup>  
Or trewe men lyve in love &<sup>5</sup> lee?  
Or whan shall falshed fange<sup>6</sup> from home,  
Or Trewth shall blow his horne on hye?

He said, 'man, set thy fote on myne,  
And ouer my Shulder loke thyn lie<sup>7</sup>  
The fairest sight I shall shewe the [syne]<sup>8</sup>  
That euer saw<sup>9</sup> man in<sup>10</sup> thy cowntre.'

Ouer a lande forth I blynte,<sup>11</sup>  
A semely sight me thought I se—  
A crowned quene in verament,  
With a company of Angelles fre. 20

Her stede was grete & dappyll gray,  
her aparell was of silke of Inde;  
with peryll and perrye<sup>12</sup> set full gay,  
her stede was of a ferly kynde. 24  
<sup>13</sup>So Ryally<sup>14</sup> in her Arraye,  
I stode and mwsyd in my mynde;  
all the clerkes a live to day  
So fayre a lady colde<sup>15</sup> none ffynde. 28

An Angyll kneled on his kne,  
and other many apon that land  
went to that faire of ffelycite,  
and gave her a holy water sprynckell  
in hand. 32  
her crowne was Graven in graynis iij,  
she halowyd the grownd with her  
owen<sup>16</sup> hand,  
both ffrythe & ffelde and fforest ffree;  
and I behelde<sup>17</sup> and styll did stand. 36

She halowed yt both<sup>18</sup> farre & nere;<sup>18</sup>  
the Angelles after her did hie;  
She said, 'Iesu, that bowght vs dere,<sup>19</sup>  
what here shalle many a dede corse  
lye! 40  
'here most barnies<sup>20</sup> be brought on  
bere,  
and welle away<sup>21</sup> shall ladyes crye,  
Iesu, that bowght mankynde so dere,  
vpon the[r] soulles haue mercye! 44

then I lokyd ouer a lovely lande—  
that was a selcowth thinge<sup>22</sup> in  
sight—  
I se come ouer a bent rydaunde  
<sup>23</sup>A goodly man as armyde knyght.<sup>24</sup> 48  
he shoke his spere ferselye<sup>25</sup> in hand,  
Right cruell[ye] and kene;  
Styfly & stowre as he wolde stonde,  
he bare a shyld of Syluer shene. 52

<sup>1</sup> R. omits.    <sup>2</sup> buron    <sup>3-5</sup> to tell me what hereafter shulde be.    <sup>4</sup> done    <sup>5</sup> L. or  
<sup>6</sup> be founde    <sup>7</sup> thow nye    <sup>8</sup> R. ffyne, L. nil.    <sup>9</sup> see    <sup>10</sup> of

<sup>11</sup> Ouer a louely lande as I was lente    <sup>12</sup> L. perle = perre    <sup>13</sup> leaf 75, back.  
<sup>14</sup> Soo Ryally she was    <sup>15</sup> can    <sup>16</sup> om.    <sup>17</sup> L. behinde yt and    <sup>18-19</sup> L. fere & nye  
<sup>20</sup> L. man kynde    <sup>21</sup> burons    <sup>22</sup> L. wyll away    <sup>23</sup> L. inserts 'to se'    <sup>24</sup> leaf 76.  
<sup>25</sup> He semed In felde as he wolde ffight    <sup>26</sup> L. furiously

A crosse of gowles therin <sup>1</sup> did be ;  
 he carpyd wordes cruell & kene,  
 And shoke a shafte of a suer tree ;  
<sup>2</sup> I blent wele forder apon a <sup>2</sup> grene :  
 A nother armyd knyght I see,  
 In his cress he bare, I wene,  
 A Rede lyon that did rawmpyng be ;  
 he spake wordes cruell & kene 60  
 to that other <sup>3</sup> that was hym by.

This crowned quene rode them betwene,  
 Right as fast as she colde <sup>4</sup> hie,  
 She saith, 'men what do you meane ?  
 stente your Stryff & your follye, 64  
 Remember that ye <sup>5</sup> be sayntes in heven ;  
 and fro my dere soñ comen am I  
 to take this ffelde you [twoo] betwene.  
 whereuer yt shall <sup>6</sup> fall in <sup>7</sup> burghe  
 or bye.' 68

<sup>8</sup> She said 'Seint G[e]orge thow art my  
 knyght  
 oft wronge heyres haue done the tene ;  
 Seint Andrew yet <sup>9</sup> art thow in the <sup>9</sup>  
 right,  
 of thy men if it be syldom sene. <sup>10</sup> 72  
 here [dye] shall many a doughty knyght,  
 And gromes shall grone apon yat  
 grene,  
 here lordly leedes loo shall lyght, 75  
 And many a douty knyght bydene. <sup>11</sup>  
 here shalbe gladismore that shall glad  
 vs all,  
 yt shalbe gladyng of oure glee ;  
 yt <sup>12</sup> shalbe gladmore wher euer yt fall,  
 but not gladmore by the see. 80  
<sup>13</sup> ouer cache more <sup>13</sup> a coke shall crowe,  
 of [ter] tymes <sup>14</sup> then tymes thre,  
 In the thirde yere a ferly shall fall, 83  
 At yermes <sup>15</sup> broke a kyng shall dye.'

This crowned quene vanyshed awaye  
 with her company of Angilles bright,  
 so dide both these knyghtes that day ;  
 no more I <sup>16</sup> sawe them <sup>16</sup> in my sight.  
 to a <sup>17</sup> lytell man I toke my waye, 89  
 I <sup>18</sup> prayed hym with mayn & myght,  
<sup>19</sup> more of this matier he wold me saye ;  
 he answered me with reason <sup>20</sup> Right :

'I <sup>21</sup> wyll the tylle <sup>21</sup> with trew Intent,  
 but I haue no space to bide with the,  
 To tell the [the] trouth in varament  
 what shall fall & <sup>22</sup> gladismore be. 96  
 dissencion amonges your <sup>23</sup> lordes shalbe  
 lent,

of them that are of blode full nye,  
 where many a man shall their be shent,  
 And doughtyly in batell dye. 100

Charyty shalbe layed awaye,  
 That ryffe in londe hath been ;  
 Come shall tene and tray,  
 This man can melle & mène. 104  
 those <sup>24</sup> that love[s] well to-day  
 belyve <sup>25</sup> shall tray & tene, <sup>25</sup>  
 In batell <sup>26</sup> shall barons <sup>26</sup> them araye  
 Right doughtely <sup>27</sup> by dene. 108

gret batell[es] in Englund men shall see,  
 be yt wronge or Right ;  
 The sone ageinst the father shalbe,  
 Right frussely <sup>28</sup> to ffyght. 112  
<sup>29</sup> then shall truth be banysshed ouer  
 the see,  
 And falle [bothe] mayn and myght ;  
 then shall falcede <sup>30</sup> and envy

blowe <sup>31</sup> their hornes on high[t]. 116  
 This shall Reigne vnto the space  
 of xxx <sup>32</sup> yeres and thre ;  
 In Englund shalbe la[k]ke of grace,  
 So much treson shall be. 120

<sup>1-1</sup> I dyd see    <sup>2-3</sup> & past forwarde vpon the    <sup>3</sup> other buron    <sup>4</sup> might  
<sup>5</sup> ther    <sup>6</sup> om.    <sup>7-7</sup> L. bought or by    <sup>8</sup> leaf 76, back.    <sup>9-9</sup> thou art In  
<sup>10</sup> This line omitted in R.    <sup>11</sup> These four lines omitted in R.    <sup>12</sup> per  
<sup>13-13</sup> on Cachemore    <sup>14</sup> offer    <sup>15</sup> yernes    <sup>16-16</sup> see them    <sup>17</sup> that    <sup>18</sup> and  
<sup>19</sup> leaf 77.    <sup>20</sup> reason and    <sup>21-21</sup> wolde tell the    <sup>22</sup> or    <sup>23</sup> om.    <sup>24</sup> these  
<sup>25-25</sup> shalbe traied by teene    <sup>26-26</sup> buryns shall    <sup>27</sup> dulfully    <sup>28</sup> ferceleye ffor  
<sup>29</sup> leaf 77, back.    <sup>30</sup> falschede    <sup>31</sup> L. browe

A kynge shall reigne without Right-  
wysnes,

And put downe blod full hie ;  
Another shalbe lost for fawlte of grace,  
To here shalbe [grett] petye. 124

yet shall deth haue a dynt  
In <sup>1</sup>tor[na]ment and fyght;<sup>1</sup>  
he that hath ynglond hent

<sup>2</sup>shalbe made lowe in leght.<sup>2</sup> 128

<sup>3</sup>Then wenis men<sup>3</sup> that ware shall stynt,  
but yt Ryseth new on hight;  
Then shall ij prynces harnes hent,  
with treason ther dedys be dyght. 132

wrongwise werkes lokes after wrake  
with <sup>4</sup>clerkes on-wissely<sup>4</sup> wrought;  
Seint Bede in booke did make

<sup>5</sup>When the proffycies was sought, 136  
that god he will vengyanee take,  
when all Englund is on lofte;  
A duke shall suffer for their sake,  
which he to dede hath brought. 140

when euery [man] wenys that ware is  
goone,

And Rest and pese shall be,  
Then shall entre at Mylford haven  
vpon a horse of tree 144

A banyshed barone<sup>6</sup> that is borne  
of brutes blode-shalbe;  
through helpe of a[n] Egyl an-one  
he shall broke all<sup>7</sup> betrayne to the see.

be side bosworth a felde shalbe pight,<sup>8</sup>  
ther mete shall bores two,  
of dyuerse colors shalbe dight;<sup>9</sup>  
the one shall the other sloo. 152

A hartes hed with tenes<sup>10</sup> bright  
shall werke his armes<sup>11</sup> woo;  
The white bore [to deth] shalbe dight:  
The profficies saith soo. 156

<sup>12</sup>After Lordes shall to London Ride  
That mykyll is of prise;<sup>13</sup>

A parliament shalbe sett that tyde,  
and chose a kynge at ther devisse. 160  
euery man of englund large & wyde  
<sup>14</sup>wene[s] they ar sett of pryce,<sup>14</sup>  
yet he shalbe called in that tyde  
the kynge of covetyse.<sup>15</sup> 164

when sonday goth by B and C,  
And pryme by one<sup>16</sup> and two,  
the[n] selcouthe[s] men shall see,  
that seme not to be soo. 168  
Barnes<sup>17</sup> in batell shall brednet<sup>18</sup> be,  
And barors<sup>19</sup> of blod full bloo;  
the <sup>iii</sup>j<sup>th</sup> lefe of the tree shall dye,  
that lost hath bowes moo. 172

A fcedder from heth shall falle in hast,  
his name shall torne to a<sup>20</sup> tree:  
<sup>21</sup>dulfull dede shall women wast,<sup>21</sup>  
<sup>22</sup>And make folke to felde flee.<sup>22</sup> 176

Traytors shall towers tast,  
And doughtlesse be done to dye;  
All Londoñ shall trymble in hast, 179  
<sup>23</sup>A dede kynge when they shall<sup>24</sup> see.

A prynce shall bowne [hym] ouer a  
flood,  
Ouer <sup>25</sup>a streame straye:<sup>25</sup>  
those that were neuer of Consciens good  
shall breke truse on a daye. 184  
Mekyll <sup>26</sup>care barnes brues;<sup>26</sup>  
when they cast there truthes awaye;  
then in englonde men shall here newes,  
And A kynge slaine on a day. 188

betwene a traytise of trust,<sup>27</sup>  
with a ffalse assent,  
A castell sone shall lost be  
Apon a Ryver [in] varament. 192

<sup>1-1</sup> turnament off fight

<sup>2-3</sup> R. then men weneth; L. then wyns men

<sup>6</sup> buron <sup>7</sup> om. <sup>8</sup> L. piched

<sup>13</sup> leaf 78, back. <sup>13</sup> L. pryde

<sup>15</sup> L. covitous <sup>16</sup> iij <sup>17</sup> burons

<sup>21-21</sup> dulfull dedes shall warnes waste

<sup>24</sup> om. <sup>25-25</sup> the stremes staye

<sup>2-3</sup> shall make hym lowe to light

<sup>4-4</sup> ? werkes, R. dedes vnwisely <sup>5</sup> leaf 78.

<sup>9</sup> L. Right <sup>10</sup> tynes <sup>11</sup> enemyes

R. thinke they be sett att prise; L. pryde

<sup>18</sup> beyton <sup>19</sup> barons <sup>20</sup> om.

<sup>22-22</sup> make ffolkes to ffelles to ffye <sup>23</sup> leaf 28.

<sup>26-26</sup> bale burons bruen <sup>27</sup> truse

[betwen] Seyton) & the see  
then) shalbe warre In verement,  
And many a towne brent shalbe  
1 when ware is with assent.<sup>1</sup> 196

2 then shall wacone woo & wrothe<sup>3</sup>  
and barnys to batell shalbe bowne:<sup>4</sup>  
their shall com ouer the water of<sup>5</sup> forth  
wele arrayed in golde, a rede lyon; 200  
with many a lorde out of the North,  
for to bete their enymys downe.  
mikell<sup>6</sup> blode with hym<sup>7</sup> & broth<sup>7</sup>  
shalbe spylyd vpon [bentis browne].<sup>8</sup>

9 out of the south shall entre Right  
a whyt lyon [vpp]on a daye,  
ageinst the Rede lyon for to fyght; 207  
but their shall begyne a duffull fraye.  
their shall dye many a doughty knyght,  
And ladys [shalle] crye welle awaye!  
Men of the chirch shall<sup>10</sup> fiersly fyght,  
with shaft and shelde them to<sup>11</sup> asaye:

Est and west, north and south,  
shall<sup>12</sup> some Ryall<sup>12</sup> in their araye:  
At mylnefylde they shall splaye banars  
couth

Against the Rede lyon that day. 216  
they shall begyne at yernez mowth,  
many a Ryall<sup>13</sup> knyght in fay;

14 Many a doughty<sup>14</sup> that day be put to  
deth;  
A[tt] flodden felde begynnys the  
afraye: 220

15 Att Branstone<sup>15</sup> hill shall semble a  
herd,  
and bright baners shall dysplaye;  
And many frekes shalbe a-ferde,<sup>16</sup>  
and fewe to bere the<sup>17</sup> lyff away. 224

those that is brede of vncouth the erde  
shall doubtlesse lese they[r] lyffes yat  
day:

18 The Rede Lyon was neuer a ferde, 227  
he shall<sup>19</sup> doubtlesse dy<sup>20</sup> that day.

A beme full<sup>21</sup> burle shall ther<sup>21</sup> blowe  
vnder a montayne apon a lee;  
A splayd egle that men do know  
shall make a C standertes [swe].<sup>22</sup> 232  
ther shall frekes full frely fall,  
and of them he shall wyne the mon-  
tane hie;

doutye knyghtes shall clype<sup>23</sup> & call, 235  
and many a man that day shall dye.

A bull & a bastarde together [shalle]  
mete,  
shall fyght in fylde full manfully;  
the Rede blode shall rone as rayne in  
strete,  
and many a doughty that day shall  
dye. 240

the Rede lyon made shalbe full meke,  
and come downe from a mountayne  
hye;  
belyve be [ffallen downe]<sup>24</sup> vnderfete  
and in yernez broke slayne shall he<sup>25</sup>  
be. 244

A white lyon shall kepe a stale,  
An admyrall shall come from the see,  
And make<sup>26</sup> his enymys<sup>27</sup> for to fall,<sup>27</sup>  
And dryve them to the mountayn hye:  
their shal be-gyn a duffull swale, 249  
when the Albenackes<sup>28</sup> blod begyn-  
nyth to fle;

29 they shall be dreven downe into a  
dale,<sup>30</sup>  
ther fayrest flower [ther] lost shalbe.

1-1 and warre shall waken In violent

2 R. inserts as first line of stanza: That many a wiffe shall wydoo ben 3 orthe 4 L. bounde

5 L. at 6 L. Muche 7-7 ys broghte 8 L. a bent of brome (this line is omitted in R.)

9 leaf 79, back. 10 om. 11 selfe 12-12 semble rially 13 doughtye

14-14 and many 15-15 L. on bramstone 16 L. a-frayde 17 ther 18 leaf 80.

19 shalbe 20 dede 21-21 borle ther shall 22 L. to shake & swaye 23 clepe

21 L. falled, ? fouled 25 om. 26 doo 27-27 mekell bale 28 almanakes [!]

29 leaf 80, back. 30 This line is omitted in R.

the mowle<sup>1</sup> and the <sup>2</sup>mayre maydeñ  
 shall be layed awaye,<sup>2</sup>  
 and shalbe done dulfully to dye;  
 The golde anker shalbe slayne that day,  
 So shall the besand<sup>3</sup> with the beres  
 thre;<sup>4</sup> 256  
 A white lyon in <sup>5</sup>armyn graye<sup>5</sup>  
 shall fyght that day full manfully,  
 to helpe the Egell [in] all he maye, 259  
 And make his enymys fayne to fle.<sup>6</sup>

the day shall fayle<sup>7</sup> both leme & light,  
 the nyght shall entre vpon them tho,  
 their enymys ther [shalbe] put to flyght  
 with blody woundes & hartes woo. 264  
 then shall they cry & call on hight,  
 vnfaithfull<sup>8</sup> frendes that <sup>9</sup>are goo;<sup>9</sup>  
 their shall mysse manye a Ryall knyght  
 that gladly to that ffelde dyd goo. 268

on morow the day shalbe full bright.  
 the people shall assemble fare in fere,  
 som with hevy hartes & som with ligh[t];  
 who fyndes his frynde[s] shall make  
 good chere. 272  
<sup>10</sup>But the Rede Lyon<sup>11</sup> to dede shalbe<sup>11</sup>  
 dight,  
 and by the adwise of a woman clere  
 ther shall they fynde hym sone<sup>12</sup> full  
 Right,  
 or elles<sup>13</sup> they wiste nott<sup>13</sup> which he  
 were. 276

then leyve<sup>14</sup> every lorde shall take,  
 and bowne<sup>15</sup> them home to their  
 contry,  
 som with weale, & som with wrake, 279  
 who that haue lost their frendes fre.  
 but the rede lyon, wele I wot,  
 to London towne browght shalbe;  
 the whit lyon shall grath his gate 283  
 and to London [shalbe] cary that fre.

then ther shall happen such a chauns;  
 the prynce that is beyonde the fode  
 two townes shall take that longe<sup>16</sup> to  
 Fraunce, 287  
 with lytyll shedyng of Crysten blod;  
 boldely his people he shall avaunce,  
 and nother spare for golde ne good.  
 bredlynton<sup>17</sup> this profficy grauntes, 291  
 and so did bede that well vndirstoud.

when euery man said yt shulde be were,<sup>18</sup>  
 Arsaldowne<sup>19</sup> then proficied he,  
 And said in englond <sup>20</sup>y not dere<sup>20</sup> 295  
<sup>21</sup>tyll vij yere com and goan shulde be.  
 In hast ther shall<sup>22</sup> a messynger  
 In Albanack<sup>23</sup> from ouer the see,  
 that many a man shall suffer dere  
 th[r]ought his falsed and sotylty. 300

A childe with a chaplet shall raye hym  
 right,  
 with many a hardy man of hande,  
 with many a helme that clyderith<sup>24</sup> bright  
 And he shall com ouer soelway sand;  
 on <sup>25</sup>stanys more begyn to<sup>25</sup> fyght, 305  
 wher lordes shall light vpon that londe,  
 And <sup>26</sup>aske Nothing<sup>26</sup> but his Right,  
 yet shall his enymys hym with stand.

holly chirch shall harnys hent,  
 and iij yeres stonde on stere,  
 mete & fyght vpon a bent,  
 Even as the[y] seculers were. 312  
 the Ruff shall Ruffully be Rent,  
 And stond in grete daunger,  
 vnto the synne of Simony be shent  
 that they haue vsed here. 316

A kinge<sup>27</sup> of Denmarke shall hym dyght  
<sup>28</sup>Into Englond vpon a day,  
 [pat] shall make many a lorde low<sup>29</sup> to  
 lyght,  
 And ladyes<sup>30</sup> to say wele away! 320

<sup>1</sup> mule <sup>2-3</sup> mairemedon shalbe awaye <sup>3</sup> bason <sup>4</sup> L. ther; R. om. beres thre <sup>5-5</sup> harnes gaye  
<sup>6</sup> flye <sup>7</sup> ffade <sup>8</sup> on feithfull <sup>9-9</sup> is agoo <sup>10</sup> leaf 81. <sup>11-11</sup> vnto dede is  
<sup>12</sup> om. <sup>13</sup> L. not wyt <sup>14</sup> L. lyvye <sup>15</sup> L. Bounde <sup>16</sup> L. belongeth <sup>17</sup> Bridlynton to  
<sup>18</sup> warre <sup>19</sup> L. Arsedowne <sup>20-20</sup> itt shulde not deire <sup>21</sup> leaf 81, back. <sup>22</sup> is  
<sup>23</sup> Almanake <sup>24</sup> gliderethe <sup>25-25</sup> Stanesmore begynneth the <sup>26-26</sup> askethe noo thyng  
<sup>27</sup> Duke out, L. had also originally duike <sup>28</sup> leaf 82. <sup>29</sup> full lowe <sup>30</sup> many a ladye

then frekys in felde shall frely fyght;  
 A kynge shall com out of Norway;  
 The blake flet with mayn and myght  
 their enymys full<sup>1</sup> boldly shall<sup>2</sup>  
 asay. 324

In bretayn londe shalbe a knyght,  
 on them shall make a felon fray,  
 A bytter bere with mayn and myght 327  
 shall brynge a Ryall Rowt that day.  
 ther<sup>3</sup> shall dy<sup>3</sup> many a [stalworthe]  
 knyght,  
 And dryve them to [the] flodes graye;  
 they shall losse both sayle & syght,<sup>4</sup>  
 And a crowned kynge be slayne that  
 day. 332

then shall the North Ryse ageinst y<sup>e</sup>  
 south,  
 And the est ageinste the west:  
 care in contry shalbe couthe,<sup>5</sup>  
 vntyll couytyce downe be caste. 336  
 out of a dene shall drawe a wolf  
 Right Radly in that rest,  
 And he<sup>6</sup> shall come in at the south,  
 And bett downe of the best. 340

on sondysforth shall this<sup>7</sup> sorow be  
 sene,  
<sup>8</sup> on the south syde vpon a monday;<sup>9</sup>  
 The[r] gromes shall grone vpon a grene,  
 besyde the greues<sup>10</sup> graye. 344  
 their standith a castell on a montayn  
 clene—  
 thus Arsalldoune<sup>11</sup> did saye—  
 which shall do there enymys tene,  
 and save englond that day. 348  
 to gethers ther shall mete with banars  
 bright  
 crowned kynges tare,  
 And hew on other with mayne and myght,  
 tyll one of them slayne shalbe. 352

the blake flet of Norway shall take y<sup>e</sup><sup>12</sup>  
 flyght,  
 And be full fayne to flee;  
 they shalbe dreven ouer<sup>13</sup> Rockes &  
 clyffes,<sup>13</sup>  
 And many one drowned shalbe. 356  
 they shall flee in the salt strond,<sup>13</sup>  
 fer forthe in<sup>14</sup> the fome:  
 xx<sup>14</sup> thowsand without dynt of hand,  
 shall losse their lyves ylke one. 360  
 A darf<sup>15</sup> dragon, I vnderstonde,  
 shall come yet ouer the fome,  
 And with hym bryng a Ryall  
 baunde,<sup>16</sup>  
 fher lyves shall yet be lorne. 364

this darf<sup>15</sup> dragon, I vnderstond,  
 that comyth ouer the flode[s] browne,  
<sup>17</sup> when his tayle is in Ireland,  
 his hede shalbe in stafford towne; 368  
 he shall so boldly bryng his bonde,<sup>18</sup>  
 thynkyng to wyn Renowne;  
 beside a welle ther is a stronde<sup>19</sup>  
 ther he shall be beten downe. 372

on Snapys more they shal be-gyne,  
 these doughty men & dere,  
 with sterne stedes together thring,<sup>20</sup>  
 and hew on helmes clere. 376  
 an Egyll shall mount without lettyng  
 and freshely fyght in<sup>21</sup> fere,  
 and in a ford [shalle] kyll a kynge;  
 thus marlyon<sup>22</sup> said in fere.<sup>23</sup> 380

knyghtes shall rydd<sup>24</sup> in ryche araye,  
 and hew on<sup>25</sup> helmes bright:<sup>25</sup>  
 a gerfacon shall mounte that day, 383  
 and iij<sup>26</sup> merlyon[s] fers of flyght.<sup>26</sup>  
 on gladmore, I dare well say,  
 dye shall many a knyght;  
 who shall bere the gree<sup>27</sup> away  
 no sege can rekyne<sup>23</sup> right. 388

<sup>1</sup> om. <sup>2</sup> ffor to <sup>3-3</sup> dye shall <sup>4</sup> fight <sup>5</sup> L. wrought <sup>6</sup> om.  
<sup>7-7</sup> on the Southe side Sondiforde shall <sup>8</sup> leaf 82, back.  
<sup>9-9</sup> vppon a munday In the morninge gaye <sup>10</sup> grayves <sup>11</sup> L. arsedoune  
<sup>12-13</sup> Rooke & Cliffe <sup>13</sup> strounde <sup>14</sup> on <sup>15</sup> derffe <sup>16</sup> L. bownde <sup>17</sup> leaf 83.  
<sup>18</sup> bande <sup>19</sup> fforde <sup>20</sup> L. therin <sup>21</sup> on <sup>22</sup> merlyn <sup>23</sup> prophesye <sup>24</sup> counter  
<sup>25-25</sup> helmettes clere <sup>26-23</sup> marleons In fferre <sup>27</sup> L. gere <sup>28</sup> L. reke a

the egyll shall so wery be  
for fyghtynge, as I wene,  
he wyll take <sup>1</sup>an Ilande<sup>1</sup> in the see,  
wher <sup>2</sup>herbes is faire & alsoo grene;<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>then shall mete hym a faire Lady, 393  
she shall speke with voice so clene:  
'helpe thy menne Right hardely<sup>4</sup>  
loke where they dye in batelles kene!'

then shall this egyll buske with pride,  
th[r]ought counsell of this faire lady,  
entre <sup>5</sup>in [on] euery side,<sup>5</sup> 399  
make xx<sup>4</sup> standertes <sup>6</sup>for to swey.<sup>6</sup>  
A rampyng lyon, mekyll of pride,  
In syluer sett with Armyn<sup>7</sup> free,  
shall helpe the egyll in that tyde,  
where shall many a doughty dye. 404

In a forest stondith<sup>8</sup> Ookes thre,  
In a fryth all by ther one;  
beside a hedlesse crosse of tree  
A well shall Ronne of blode alone. 408  
Marlyon said in his profecy  
that in <sup>9</sup>their stondith<sup>9</sup> a stone:  
A crowned kynge shall heddid be  
And<sup>10</sup> to losse his lyffe alone. 412

The egyll shall fyersly fyght that day—  
to hym shall draw hys frendes nere;<sup>11</sup>  
a Reunaunde<sup>12</sup> hounde, withoute delaye,  
shall <sup>13</sup>brynge the chace<sup>13</sup> both fere &  
nere. 416  
barnes<sup>14</sup> shall on helmettes laye  
<sup>15</sup>doubtfull dyntes on sides sere;  
twis for sworne, I dare well say,  
ther song shalbe on sorow ther.<sup>16</sup> 420

the derf dragon shall dye in fight,  
the bere shall holde his hede on high;  
A wyld wolf low shall light;  
the brydelyd stede shall manfully 424

In felde against his enymes fight,  
the dowble flowre maynteyn shall he;  
a swane shall Swymne with mayn and  
myght;  
this bede saith in his profecy. 428

The bull of westmerlande shall bell &  
bere,  
the boldest best in varament;  
he shall afterward without were 431  
be made Iustice from tyne<sup>17</sup> to trent.  
a bastard shall do dedys dere,  
the fox he shall in handes hent,  
the ffullemarte<sup>18</sup> shalbe disfigured in  
fere,  
what side soeuer he be [on] lent. 436

then shall the egyll calle on hight,<sup>19</sup>  
and say this fylde is our<sup>20</sup> to day;  
then shall aliens take their flyght,  
their songe shalbe wele awaye! 440  
the duble Rose shall laughe<sup>21</sup> full Right,  
And bere the gre for euer & aye,  
when false men shall take ther flyght,  
as arse[l]down<sup>22</sup> hymself did say. 444

then spake the<sup>23</sup> holly man that men  
called<sup>24</sup> Bede—  
In profecy saith [he] in fere:  
A childe with a chaplet shall do a dede  
<sup>25</sup>That is doughtye & deere;<sup>25</sup> 448  
In handes he shalbe take[n] at nede,  
and brought to his blode full nere.  
he shalbe saved that day from drede  
with a prynce that hath no pere; 452

And <sup>26</sup>of that barne he shall haue grete<sup>26</sup>  
pety  
[that] tyll hym is leue<sup>27</sup> & dere;  
And afterward, in proffecy  
as clerkes sayne<sup>28</sup> in fere, 456

<sup>1-1</sup> L. in Irelande    <sup>2-3</sup> L. herkes ar faire & ale is    <sup>3</sup> leaf 83, back.    <sup>4</sup> egerlye  
<sup>5-5</sup> shall In on the Southe side    <sup>6-6</sup> to flee    <sup>7</sup> hermene    <sup>8</sup> standes  
<sup>9-9</sup> the fforde ther standes    <sup>10</sup> & ther    <sup>11</sup> neere    <sup>12</sup> ravande    <sup>13-13</sup> ring the shawes  
<sup>14</sup> burons    <sup>15</sup> leaf 84.    <sup>16</sup> here    <sup>17</sup> L. tyme    <sup>18</sup> L. fyluer or syluer  
<sup>19</sup> R. heght; L. high    <sup>20</sup> owres    <sup>21</sup> L. lought    <sup>22</sup> Arsaldoune    <sup>23</sup> that    <sup>24</sup> calles  
<sup>25-25</sup> L. that doughty dere & fere    <sup>26</sup> om.    <sup>27</sup> leefe    <sup>28</sup> saye

he shall Rayne in<sup>1</sup> Ryalyte  
v & fyfty yere.  
then <sup>2</sup> of them lordes shall a<sup>2</sup> coun-  
sell be  
that doughty are<sup>3</sup> & dere. 460  
when all this is comprehended to<sup>4</sup> ende,  
than men may bide & blyne;  
to London then<sup>5</sup> lordes shall wende  
with that Ryall<sup>6</sup> kyng. 464  
<sup>7</sup> then all wares is brought to ende  
[that] hath been englonde within;  
<sup>8</sup> Suche a<sup>8</sup> grace god shall send,  
[that] exyled shalbe all synne. 468  
then A parliament he shall make,  
that kyng of high degre:  
<sup>9</sup> truse In<sup>9</sup> englund shalbe take  
with his blod full nye. 472  
then <sup>10</sup> goo shall ware<sup>10</sup> & wyked wrake  
that longe in englonde hath be,  
then shall all sorow in englund slake  
this saith the profecye. 476  
then <sup>11</sup> the blake flett of Norway is  
commyn<sup>12</sup> & gone,  
And drenchid in the <sup>13</sup> flode truly;<sup>13</sup>  
Mekelle<sup>14</sup> ware hath bene beforen,  
but after shall none be; 480  
then shall truth blow his horne  
truly lowde and hye;<sup>15</sup>  
he shall Reigne both even & morne, 483  
And fflashed <sup>16</sup> shalle banished be.<sup>16</sup>  
then shall this kyng a protector make—  
his cosyn of his kynne;  
then the farre<sup>17</sup> flode he shall take,  
vncouthe londes to wyne, 488  
for to fyght for Iesus<sup>18</sup> sake,  
<sup>19</sup> that dyed for all our synne,  
And he shall worke them woo and wrake,  
or euer he byde or blyne. 492

at bareflet<sup>20</sup> he shall do battelles thre—  
this prince of mekyl<sup>21</sup> myght,  
And to parys wend shall he  
with many a doughty knyght. 496  
ther shall they yelde hym vp the kaye<sup>22</sup>  
of all the Citie wyght,  
[And] vnto Rome wend shall he  
with many A doughty knyght. 500  
The pope of rome with prosession  
shall mete hym the<sup>23</sup> same day,  
And all the cardynalles shalbe bowne<sup>24</sup>  
In their best araye. 504  
Ther shall knele iij kinges with crowne,  
and homage make that day,  
And many of the spirituall of Rome  
shall brynge hym on the waye. 508  
to the woodes<sup>25</sup> then shall he Ryde—  
this comly kyng with crowne,  
And wyn his enymys on euery side,  
And boldly bete them downe. 512  
Ther shall advaile<sup>26</sup> no erthly pride  
in castell, towre, ne towne,  
but geve they warkyng wondes wyde,  
<sup>27</sup> who<sup>28</sup> against hym in batell is  
bowne.<sup>28</sup> 516  
then to Iherusalem this prince<sup>29</sup> shall fare  
as conqueror of myght  
vij mortalle<sup>30</sup> batelles shall he wynne  
there  
And the turkes to dede shall dight. 520  
[then to the sepulcre shalle he ffare  
To see that gracious sight,  
where cryst ffor vs suffred sare<sup>31</sup>  
when he to dethe was dight.] 524  
All the Citie of Iherusalem  
shall a-Raye them with Ryalte,  
And for to fyght shalbe [fulle] fayne  
vpon the heithen meynye. 528

<sup>1</sup> In welthe & <sup>2</sup> shall lordes off <sup>3</sup> is <sup>4</sup> to an <sup>5</sup> these <sup>6</sup> noble <sup>7</sup> leaf 85.  
<sup>8-9</sup> And suche <sup>9-9</sup> L. the ruffin <sup>10-10</sup> shall goo woo <sup>11</sup> when <sup>12</sup> L. compis  
<sup>13-13</sup> ffrome so ffree <sup>14</sup> L. much <sup>15</sup> L. hight <sup>16-16</sup> L. shalbe vanysshed awaye  
<sup>17</sup> faire <sup>18</sup> Iesu <sup>19</sup> leaf 85, back. <sup>20</sup> harefleete <sup>21</sup> L. mylke <sup>22</sup> L. kyng  
<sup>23</sup> that <sup>24</sup> L. bound <sup>25</sup> Rodes <sup>26</sup> L. avale them <sup>27</sup> leaf 86. <sup>28</sup> L. bownd  
<sup>29</sup> L. parrys <sup>30</sup> L. Mortye <sup>31</sup> MS. sore



To Synay that prince shall bowne anone,  
wher seint Kateryn doth beryed be;  
vij hethen kynges ther shalbe slayne,  
that sight or euer he [se]<sup>1</sup> 532

xxxij<sup>2</sup> batelles that crowned kyng  
shall wyn, I vnderstonde,  
[and] then the holly crosse he shall  
wyne,

And bryng yt into criston lande. 536  
In hast their<sup>3</sup> shall serue<sup>3</sup> to hym,  
that dare not him withstonde;

xxxij<sup>2</sup> hethen kynges  
he shall cristen with his hand. 540

he shall send this rich Relycke to Rome,  
to that worthy wones:

All the belles, I tell you sone,  
they shall ryng [alle] at ons; 544  
the pope<sup>4</sup> shall mete yt with proses-  
sioun,

<sup>5</sup> And <sup>6</sup> all the cardynalles for the  
nones,

And all the senators of Rome  
shall knele on knes at ons. 548

then towardes<sup>7</sup> Iherusalem this kyng  
shall hie

with many a crysten wight,  
In the vale of Iosephate y<sup>er</sup><sup>8</sup> shall he  
dye

without batell or fyght. 552

xxiiij<sup>9</sup> kynges that do crystened be  
shall take that<sup>10</sup> worthy wight,  
[and] bryng hym to Rome Right hastely  
before the popes<sup>11</sup> sight. 556

all the belles of Rome at one[s],  
ye<sup>12</sup> shall wele vnderstand,  
they shall rynge withyn those<sup>13</sup> wones  
without helpe of mannes hand. 560

the pope shall bowne [hym] to bery his  
bones  
in seint peter[3] mynster wher yt doth  
stonde,

<sup>14</sup> All that clerkes [of Rome] that ons<sup>14</sup>  
Shall not styre that bere<sup>15</sup> with hand.

then the pope, with many a kyng  
and cardenalles grete plenty,  
to the cite of Colyñe they shall hym  
bryng,

where ther lyes kynges thre, 568  
that offred to Iesu a ryche thinge<sup>16</sup>  
that nyght he borne did be,  
<sup>17</sup> bethelem that burgh<sup>17</sup> withyn,  
<sup>18</sup> of a Mayden free. 572

Than balthaser shall speke on heght<sup>19</sup>  
and say to <sup>20</sup> Melchore in fere: <sup>20</sup>

'Make a rome, curteys knyght,  
<sup>21</sup> our fourt felow<sup>21</sup> is here.' 576

A grete<sup>22</sup> of golde hath Rased<sup>23</sup> in sight,  
vpon a good maner,

And ther they shall bery this worthi wight  
betwene thes kynges dere. 580

the pope<sup>24</sup> shall <sup>25</sup> grave hym<sup>25</sup> with his  
hond

trewly, this holly kyng,  
And all the lordes of faire englond  
he shall geve them his blessinge. 584

They shall bowne<sup>26</sup> ouer [the] stalworth  
strond

Fayre englond withyn;  
Many shall wayle & wryng ther hande<sup>27</sup>  
when they here that tydyng<sup>28</sup>. 588

[then] he that was protector englond  
withyn

hath wrought so wordely,<sup>29</sup>  
In London they [shalle] crowne hym kyng  
with gret solempnytie. 592

<sup>1</sup> MS. be <sup>2</sup> Two and thrifte <sup>3-3</sup> shall be sworne <sup>4</sup> pope offe Rome [pope crossed through]  
<sup>5</sup> leaf 86, back. <sup>6</sup> with <sup>7</sup> to <sup>8</sup> om. <sup>9</sup> ffoure & thritye <sup>10</sup> this

<sup>11</sup> Crossed through in R. <sup>12</sup> yow <sup>13</sup> this <sup>14-14</sup> butt all the clerkes of Rome this ones  
<sup>15</sup> beere <sup>16</sup> relike <sup>17-17</sup> In Bethelme that riall borough <sup>18</sup> leaf 87.

<sup>19</sup> L. high <sup>20-20</sup> Melchaser in ffere <sup>21-21</sup> our ffourthe brother <sup>22</sup> grate <sup>23</sup> reseyd  
<sup>24</sup> Crossed through in R. <sup>25-25</sup> laye In grave <sup>26</sup> bowne them <sup>27</sup> L. handes

<sup>28</sup> R. titthing; L. tydynges <sup>29</sup> worthelye

And so noble shalbe <sup>1</sup>his reigne,<sup>1</sup>  
 In tyme when yt<sup>2</sup> shalbe,  
<sup>3</sup>lv yere<sup>3</sup> Englund with yn,  
 so long his Rayne shalbe. 596  
 than shall falshede be vanysshed away<sup>4</sup>  
<sup>5</sup>and trouth shalbe redy  
 trew men both by nyght & day  
 shall lyve in charytie 600  
 dayly, me<sup>6</sup> thynke, we ought to pray  
 to god in trynytie,  
 for<sup>7</sup> to exele all vickednes away<sup>8</sup>  
 pray we [vn]to our lady 604  
 I pray[ed] this littell man in fere  
 that he wolde truly [vnto] me say,  
 when shall <sup>9</sup>this ende without[en] were,  
 or when shall come that day? 608  
 he said, 'a long tyme thow holdest me  
 but yet I wyll the say, [here,  
 of yt<sup>10</sup> I shall not fayle a<sup>11</sup> yere,  
 And thow <sup>12</sup>wylt take hede<sup>12</sup> what I  
 say :— 612

In the yere of our lorde, I vnder-  
 stonde,  
<sup>13</sup>xvc yere,<sup>13</sup>  
 & one and thirty folowand,  
 all this shall apere; 616  
<sup>14</sup>the crosse in<sup>14</sup> cristen mennes hande,<sup>15</sup>  
 that is worthi and dere,  
 yt shalbe brought I vnderstond  
 to Rome <sup>16</sup>wythouten were.<sup>16</sup> 620  
 betwene the walcoen & the wall  
 this lytyll man mett with me,  
<sup>17</sup>tolde me this proffecy all,  
 And what tyme it shulde be. 624  
 god that dranke esell & gall  
 and for vs dyed on a tree,  
 when he thynketh tyme to tall,  
 to heven bryng you & me! Amen.

Explicis proficia Venerabilis  
 bede, Marlonis, Thome Asslaydon  
 et Aliorum

<sup>1-1</sup> thys realme    <sup>2</sup> thys    <sup>3-3</sup> ffyve & ffyfty yeres    <sup>4</sup> ffor aye    <sup>5</sup> leaf 87, back.  
<sup>6</sup> L. my    <sup>7</sup> om.    <sup>8</sup> ffor aye    <sup>9</sup> L. inserts all    <sup>10</sup> that    <sup>11</sup> on  
<sup>12-12</sup> take good hede    <sup>13-13</sup> ffyffetene hundreth In fiere    <sup>14-14</sup> The hollye cross In-to  
<sup>15</sup> L. handes    <sup>16-16</sup> L. without ware; R adds, ¶ finis, and ends here.    <sup>17</sup> leaf 88.

The Lansdowne MS. 762 also contains, among a collection of short propheticall notes, the following of

### THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE.

*leaf 49, back.*

Thomas of Ashledoñ sayth the faderis of the moderis church / shall cause the Roses bothe to dye in his Avne fonte ther / he was cristened.

*leaf 50.*

Thomas of Asheldoñ sayeth the egle of the / trewe brute shall see all inglund in peas & rest / both spirituell and temporall; and euery estate of / in thaire degre and the maydens of englonde / bylde your howses of lyme and stone.

## APPENDIX III.

## AN ENGLISH PROPHECY

OF

GLADSMOOR, SANDISFORD, AND SEYTON AND THE SEYE,

PREDICTED OF 1553.

[*Sloane 2578, leaves 38 b—41.*]

The begynninge of warres & myschef in england as Bede saiethe is *anno domini* 1553. The first battell shalbe fowght betwin englishe men & the scottes with y<sup>e</sup> frenchmen on yer company at Somerhill beside Newecastell (the battell shalbe sore<sup>1</sup>) the scottes & frenchemen shall ouercom, scape who that maye, vntill a newe yeare. ¶ The next yeare after this battell, shall Philip of Spayne com in with a greate hoste betwin Seyton & the seye, beside Westcheschester,<sup>2</sup> and at a Skyrmysh there shalbe slaine 5000 on bothe parties. Then shall thei mete with yer greate battelles at Gladismore we & they, & there shall our nobles fyght so greate a battell with them that it shalbe hard to saye who shall haue the better. on the morowe thei shall mete agayne at Snapes moore<sup>3</sup> therby wheare he shalbe slaine & all his men, and thende shalbe at <sup>4</sup>Sandisford downe, wheare yer shippes shall lye till y<sup>e</sup> crowes buylde yer neastes in them. ¶ Then shall com owte of Denmark a Duke and he shall come into England with 16 Lodes, with whose concent he shalbe crowned kinge in a towne of Northumberland, and shall raig 3 monethes & odd dayes. he shall fight a battell at Snapes more,<sup>5</sup> wheare he shalbe slaine, & xx<sup>m</sup> of his men drowned in the seye. ¶ Then comethe Pole owte of rome and his power shalbe so greate yat he shall not cease vntill he win to London and then shall he fight so soare a battell yat none shall knowe who shall haue y<sup>e</sup> better and so on the morowe bi the mone light thei shall come to London, and thei shall fight an other battell betwin Peter, John, Jamys Gylys, & charynge crosse, then at that battell shall thei wyne London & contynue there a while doinge yer will. Then shall a Cardynall yat neuer was worthy of that estate, come to the tower of London, and take one by the hand, & saye come forthe ientle brother & though the poles haue bene so longe drye in england yat men myght wade ouer them in pynsons, which nowe ouerflowe all England. <sup>6</sup>¶ Then shall come the frenche kinge at

<sup>1</sup> The words between ( ) are inserted in another hand.<sup>2</sup> "Sandes more" written over in another hand<sup>3</sup><sup>4</sup> fol. 39.<sup>5</sup> Sic.<sup>6</sup> fol. 39, back.

waburze holte (or hoke)<sup>1</sup> 15 myles from norwiche, there shall he be lett in bi a false mayre and that shall he kepe for his lodging a while, then at his retorne he shalbe mett at a place callid the redd bank, y<sup>e</sup> place is 30 miles from Westchester wheare at y<sup>e</sup> first assaye shalbe slaine ix<sup>m</sup> welchmen, and y<sup>e</sup> dowble nombre of enemyes, then on y<sup>e</sup> morowe shall y<sup>e</sup> stranger desire a peace for 3 yeares moare, but y<sup>e</sup> pease shall endure no lenger then ij maye<sup>2</sup> dayes when y<sup>e</sup> dayes waxe somewhat longe, then shall mete bothe parties at Sandisforde, and yer shalbe so mortall a battell that xx<sup>m</sup> enemyes shalbe dryven into the seye without dent of swerd ¶ then shall our noble kinge toward London ryde, & at Stanesmore yer shall he mete & fight with y<sup>e</sup> pole & y<sup>e</sup> spiritualtie a greate battel, so yat yer shalbe slaine xxx<sup>m</sup> prestes & prestes servauntes which shall haue shaven crownes as yer maisters, & made to beleve yat thei shall dye goddes servauntes then shall the kinge ryde to London & 23 Aldermen shall lease yer heddes & a besom<sup>3</sup> of equitie shall swepe all thinges cleane, holly churche shall tremble & quake, therfor lett them to yer prayour<sup>3</sup> take. ¶ A prophet of portyngale saythe, Awake englishmen & guive hede, for a tyme shall come when a kinge with a myter shall raigne ouer you & he shalbe a wulf of y<sup>e</sup> seye, he shall holde in him y<sup>e</sup> strengthe of ij bisshopp<sup>3</sup>, & the shadowe of a pope shall lye in him by y<sup>e</sup> sufferance of a Lion, & he shall take his iourney northward, & shall come againe into his contrey, & in the hemme of his mantell shalbe lapped ij thinges hunger, pestilence, & sorowe. ¶ An heremyt of Fraunce saithe Woo be to you englishmen, drawe neare, for it shalbe said emonge you, wuld god I weare for 3 monethes a Foxe in a hole lyenge, a bird in the Aire Flyenge, or a fishe in y<sup>e</sup> seye swymynge. ¶ Bede saythe, vnto a councell in winter englishmen make haste, and from a Feaste in Somer Fle, fle, fle. ¶ An Abbott of the land said, gyyve you hede englishmen when a privie hatred shal be in merlyn castell<sup>4</sup> betwin a larke, or a rearemouse, and a Raven, which shalbegynne in one daye, but shall not be endid in 3 yeares. but within yat yeare shalbe a councell in winter and in somer folowinge shall y<sup>e</sup> greate men of england be bidden to a feaste, amonge whom thei shall saye, woo, woo, woo, what shall we doo, whither shall we goo, but to y<sup>e</sup> messenger of deathe. ¶ M. shall Raise vpon you greate tribulacion & sorowe, the kinge of y<sup>e</sup> romans & grekes shall com vpon you with a greate fury, and E. shall rise owte of his slepe like a lyve man, whom all men thought to be deade. ¶ The trone of constance, & thomas with his tales all said, yat y<sup>e</sup> saxons shuld chuse them a Corde yat shuld brynge them all vnder. A deade man shuld make betwin them a corde, & yat shuld be right myche wonder, that he yat deade is & buried in sight, shuld rise againe & live in lande, thurgh y<sup>e</sup> comfort of a yonge knight, yat fortune hathe chosen to hir husband, y<sup>e</sup> wheale shall turne to hym right, yat fortune hathe chosen to be hire feere. ¶ When Father blithe the begger can saye ij credes, & hathe libertye to walke with his wallet, and mother symkyn of the sowthe takethe againe hir beades, then thowe preste take hede of thi pallett.

Finis.

<sup>1</sup> Added by another hand.

<sup>2</sup> "Midsomer" is written over "maye."

<sup>3</sup> fol. 40.

<sup>4</sup> "Salisbury castell" written over these words.

<sup>5</sup> fol. 40, back.

<sup>6</sup> fol. 41.

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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

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NO. 60, ORIGINAL SERIES.

VARIOUS READINGS OF A MS. IN TRIN. COLL. CAMB. B. 14. 19.

BY THE REV. J. R. LUMBY, B.D.<sup>1</sup>

- Line 16. . . . þei may lere.  
 „ 18. But þat þat is proved of cristis fay.  
 „ 38. þat in þis cene crist hæp wrouȝt,  
 „ 40. þe secounde his disciplis waischyng.  
 „ 46. To make redi his pask aȝenus he come.  
 „ 49. . . . as þou herd seie.  
 „ 54. . . . þei saten him bi.  
 „ 58. So trist so trewe as was Joon.  
 „ 73. . . . men han seen.  
 „ 74. . . . of Laterain  
 „ 75. An oþer manere þou understonde.  
 „ 80. To slepen on his brest Ioon þan liste.  
 „ 86. For as a seruauant . . .  
 „ 92. Crist seide þese wordis wiþ sad chere.  
 „ 95. Forsope forsoþe I wole ȝou seie.  
 „ 101. *For ye this MS always spells ize.*  
 „ 105. Priueli Ioon to crist gan seie.  
 „ 127. Biholde and þenke þis in þi mynde.  
 „ 133. To an inner hous gunnen þanne tee.  
     So seyn þat þe houshold hanne see.  
     He dide hem sitten adoun in þat stide.  
 „ 166. Whanne he waischide . . .  
 „ 175. In stidfast praier . . .  
 „ 178. Into his blis þei wolen þee lede.  
 „ 180. Hou dereworpili aforȝ his ende  
 „ 181. *om.* with.  
 „ 183. *alþer* in one word. It is genitive plural of *all*, and  
     probably is only written *divisim* here by accident.  
 „ 185. . . . he gan sowne.  
 „ 195. In memorauȝce . . .  
 „ 203. . . . more cleer.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Lumby also notes that there is a prose version of the *Meditations* in the Bodleian MS. 789 (new number: 2643 in the ordinary catalogue), leaves 1-51, bk; and that the tract "To kunne deie" in the same volume is of worth for its dialect.

- Line 207. From hevene he list . . .  
 „ 214. To 3yve þee peyne . . .  
 „ 216. . . . quyk not deed.  
 „ 245. þe þridde he tauzte hem bi monesting  
 To kepyng his comaunding  
 „ 264. þat schulen . . .  
 „ 267. þese wordis and opere þat he hem tolde  
 kitten her hertis and waxen coolde.  
 „ 271. . . . wiþ manye sizyng.  
 „ 277. þis sermoun at his brest he souke.  
 „ 283. Forþ þei wente . . .  
 „ 286. As chikenes crepten to þe dammes wyng  
 „ 291. Faste þei wenten þei camen anoon.  
 „ 295. *om. yn.*  
 „ 299. Schame . . .  
 „ 300. For he schamed not to die for þee  
 „ 305. He biddiþ . . .  
 „ 328. . . . have 3olden a stounde.  
 „ 336. þei han me prisid my woo to make.  
 „ 347. . . . delven . . .  
 „ 356. He foond hem slepyng and summe he woke  
 Her izen weren slepyng . . .  
 „ 362. . . . and dide more  
 „ 372. . . . praie þi god abone.  
 „ 406. To my fadir in his sete.  
 „ 414. Al bisprongen . . .  
 „ 427. Summe bynden summe blenden him sum on him spit  
 Summe buffetiden him and summe seyn telle who þe  
 smyt  
 Summe scornen him sum syngen on hym a song.  
 „ 436. þerfor þou schalt have deþ as riȝt  
 „ 438. Help þi silf if þou be boun.  
 „ 441. Summe drugge him summe drawe him fro see to see.  
 „ 450. þei wepen þei weilen her wristis þei wryngen.  
 „ 464. Be brouȝt  
 „ 473. Thenke man and rewe of her sekyng  
 „ 477. Boþe lorels and ech gadlynge.  
 „ 490. Aswoun sche fel down in þe feeld.  
 þanne crist was torment in moost care.  
 „ 502. þo was maad frenschip þere firste was bate.  
 „ 505. þei crieden on him as foule on owle.  
 „ 516. þei beten him and renten hym wounde to wounde.  
 „ 520. Biholdiþ he . . .  
 „ 522. Til þei ben weeri þei moun no more.  
 „ 538. þe doying of þe þridde our now wole I ryme.  
 „ 541. . . . a reehed þei took.  
 „ 543. þei setten hym openli in her clepyng

- Line 546. þou modi man þi sauour biholde  
 „ 548. And for oo word þou woldist men grame  
 Eft soone to pilat þei camen accusyng  
 And seiden saif sir Cesar we han no kyng.  
 „ 567. þei punchid him forþ þorou ilke a slowȝ  
 „ 573. þei hiȝen hym he goiþ wiþouten striif  
 „ 583. . . . foloweþ a fer.  
 „ 585. A schort weie sche is goon to chese.  
 „ 599. For evere it semeþ aȝenus his wille.  
 „ 627. To þe cross forth þei drowen him defyng.  
 „ 632. A schortere laddere biforn was set,  
 þere as þe feet schortere weren.  
 „ 637. Wiþout aȝen seiȝng . . .  
 „ 642. . . . cruciferis hem bereiȝt.  
 „ 648. . . . be merciful . . .  
 „ 654. þat oon Jew . . .  
 „ 655. þe opere him drowen til veynes to brest.  
 „ 663. Eueri ioȝnt þanne brast atwynne.  
 „ 702. I praie þee somdeel hise peynes lisse.  
 „ 715. . . . was nome.  
 „ 728. . . . me takist.  
 „ 733. He taastiþ sumdeel his preste to lipen.  
 „ 737. ȝit treuli man þirstide on rode.  
 „ 746. . . . calle me to þee.  
 „ 760. . . . I take.  
 „ 763. . . . centurio gan torne.  
 „ 812. Whiche I bar wemles of mij bodi.  
 „ 817. . . . grete sone . . .  
 „ 823. To sle hem and caste her cors awei  
 þat noon schulde se hem on sabat dai  
 „ 835. . . . scharpli sche ran.  
 „ 856. . . . þorow merci . . .  
 „ 859. þorou out his herte he preent him wiþ mood.  
 „ 888. If we goon hennes þis bodi worþ stole  
 „ 896. Joseph of Armathie . . .  
 „ 934. . . . for feyntise . . .  
 „ 944. A grettir pris myȝte nevere be brouȝte.  
 „ 949. . . . seide marie . . .  
 „ 960. Prikid, brisid . . .  
 „ 990. And greiþide hem faste þennis to goon.  
 „ 1007. But I hadde trist to his seyng  
 Myn herte schulde aborst at his diing.  
 „ 1015. I must do nedis as þou me biddest.  
 „ 1023. . . . now departid.  
 „ 1027. If þou risist up as þou me behiȝtist  
 Myn herte schal rise wiþ þe liȝtest  
 „ 1030. I am stoon deed for oones and ay



- Line 1032. And kipe þat þou art goddis sone.  
 „ 1034. Sche romyde . . .  
 „ 1047. Sche sai þe cros : Abide, sche seide  
 „ 1087. . . maistras.  
 „ 1118. . . he soukide it . . .  
 „ 1123. Fro fendis bounde to make þee free.

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE REV. W. W. SKEAT, M.A.

- Line 328. Read 'a stounde,' two words. At any rate, it means 'at any time.'  
 „ 414. Read 'be-sprunge,' with a hyphen.  
 „ 513. Read 'vndyr-neme,' with a hyphen.  
 „ 570. Read 'a-sterre,' with a hyphen.  
 „ 577. Dele comma after 'owne.'  
 Lines 632, 633. The full stop should be at the end of l. 633, and the comma at the end of l. 632.  
 Line 918. Observe that here only *one* nail is used for fastening the feet. So in *Piers the Plowman*—'nailed hym with *thre* nayles,' C. xxi. 51.

In the Glossary, note the following corrections :—

*Angred* means afflicted, not made sorry, and refers to the infliction of pain. The use of *anger* in the sense of affliction, pain, is curious, yet common. See *anger* in *Stratmann*.

*Astounde*, at any time (for a *stounde*), 328.

*Besprunge*, besprinkled, 414. Wrongly entered as *Sprunge*.

*Clewyn*, cleave, 616. *Clewyn on* = cleave to, cling to.

*Fode*, a child, 939. *Omitted*.

*Iuwyse*, instrument of punishment, 577. It commonly means punishment only, as in Chaucer's *Knights Tale*.

*Knowlechyng*, recognition, 424. To *knowleche* is to recognize, to acknowledge; not 'to know.'

*Kype*, make manifest, shew, 1032. Not 'to know.'

*Myþe*, meek, mild, 156. See *Methe* in Halliwell. (Certainly not *mighty*.)

*Owne*, own; not 'only.'

*Real*, royal, 640. So also in ll. 33, 34. (The usual meaning.)

*Ryue*, rife (in great numbers, or else quickly), 839.

*Seche*, to seek, 621. It simply means to seek, examine.

*Soke*, sucked, 1118. *Omitted*.

*Too*, 654. The too = thet oo, the one. (Very common.)

*Vndyrneme*, reprove, 513. See *Vnderneme* in *Prompt. Parv.*; and cf. P. Pl. R. v. 115.





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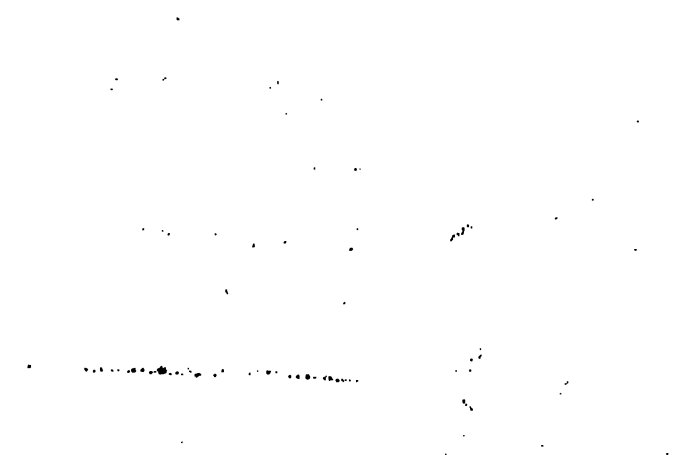


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